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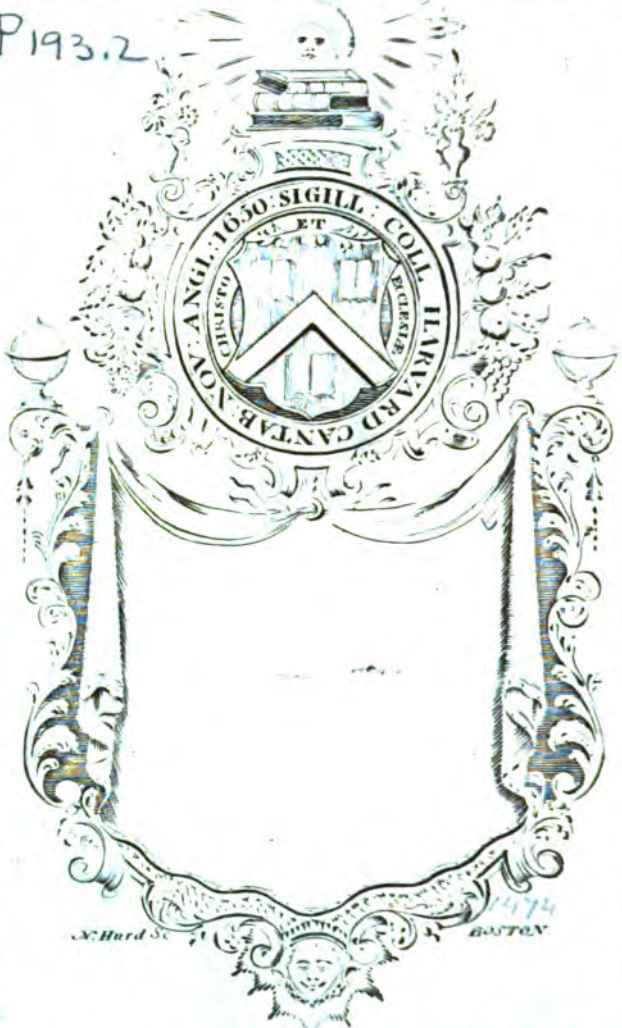
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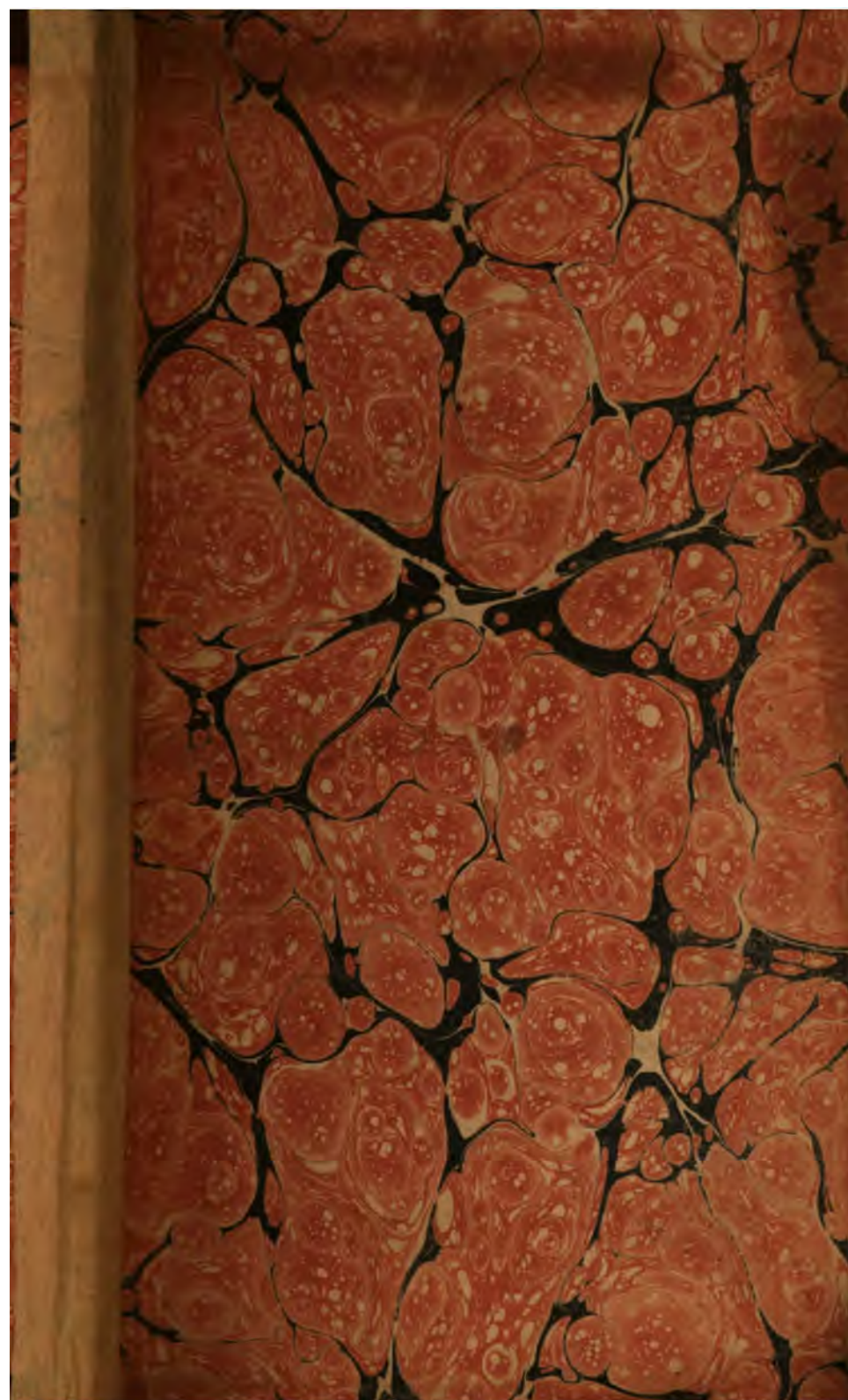


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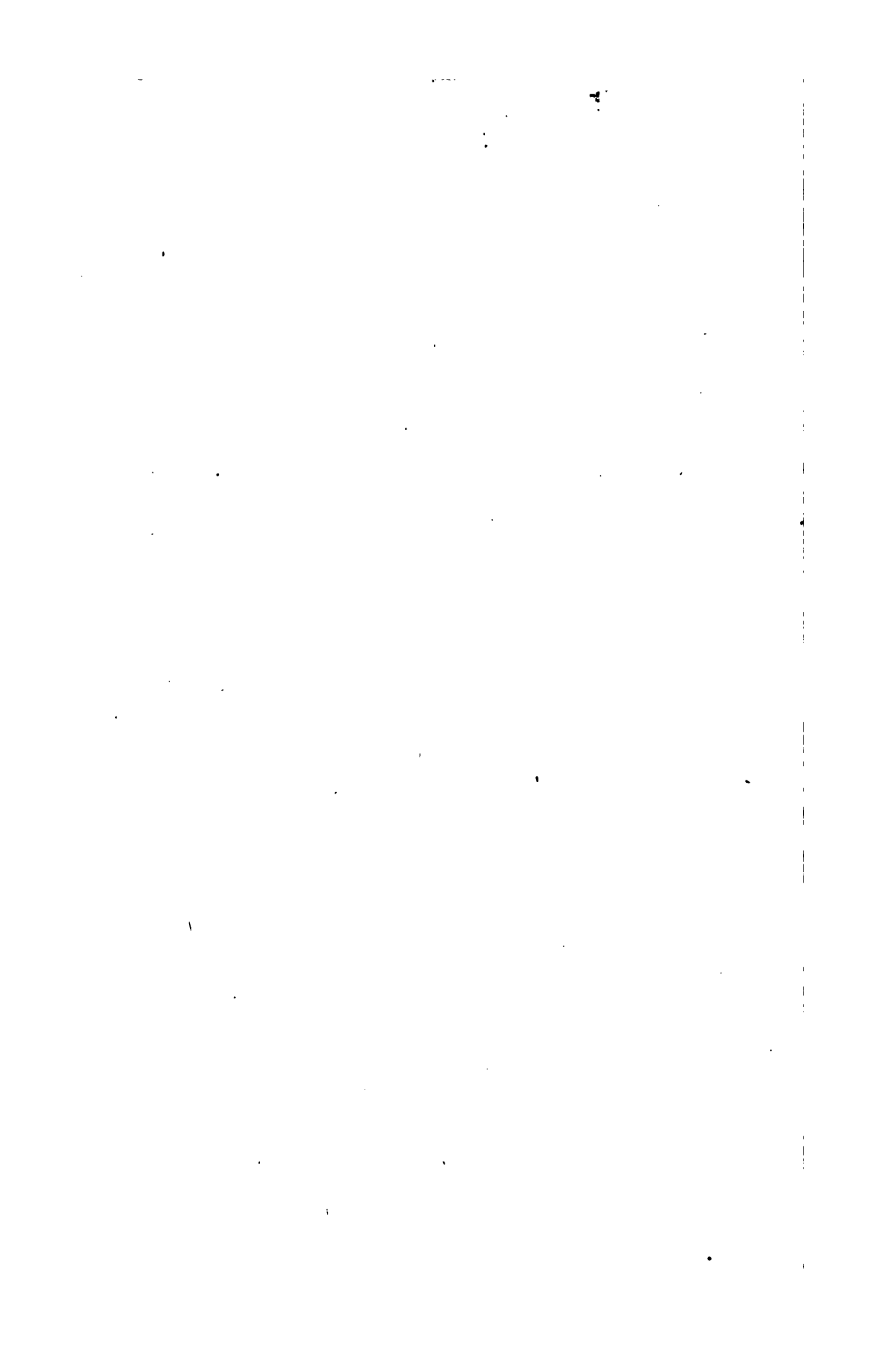
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**GENERAL REPOSITORY**

AND  
  
**REVIEW.**

TO BE CONTINUED QUARTERLY.

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THE  
GENERAL REPOSITORY

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Vol. III.

JANUARY, 1813.

No. 1.

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*Theological Department.*

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NEC TEMERE, NEC TIMIDE.

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ON THE DOCTRINE OF NECESSITY.

THE most difficult question in metaphysics is, whether man is a necessary agent; that is, whether all his thoughts and actions are of necessity what they are, being parts of a chain, not one link of which he can break. This question has in all ages perplexed the human understanding, and it is probably one, which man cannot answer; for the wisest and most learned philosophers, who have written on it, have not been able to render it clear, or to remove the principal difficulties and contradictions, in which it is involved. When, by their aid, we have pushed our inquiries as far as possible into the subject, and have been both puzzled and vexed with the doctrine, we are obliged at last to stop, with the conviction that the mind of man is dark, and his faculties extremely limited; that we know very little, and that we see objects, only as they are reflected from an obscure mirror. The doctrine of necessity not only transcends the human understanding; but some suppose that it is above the comprehension of any finite being. This is the bold thought of Milton, who introduces the devils as tormenting their souls with this abstruse inquiry:

Others apart sat on a hill retired,  
In thoughts more elevate, and reasoned high  
Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,  
Fix'd fate, free-will, foreknowledge absolute,  
And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.

Those who, notwithstanding the opinion of Milton, still think it possible to obtain clear ideas on the subject, I would refer to the works of Edwards, Hartley, Priestley, and Crombie, on the side of necessity; and of Butler, Clarke, Reid, and Price, on the side of freedom. It is not my intention to enter deeply into the question, or to undertake to decide a controversy, which has puzzled, not only the princes of philosophy, but the princes of Pandæmonium. All that I purpose to do in this essay is, to make a few observations, which must be allowed to be true, whatever becomes of the question of necessity, and which are designed to guard against the abuses, which are frequently made of the doctrine.

In the first place, those, who plead for the doctrine of necessity, mean by it, not natural, but moral, necessity. This distinction is readily understood; and it is made by the best writers on the subject. Men are not confined in chains, nor restrained by bolts and bars; but they are controlled by motives only. They have power to do what they will; but what is under the dominion of necessity is the will itself.

Secondly, if the will of man is not free, or if man himself is not free, it is because freedom is absolutely impossible in the nature of things; it is because a free being cannot be created by Omnipotence itself. The arguments for necessity impel us to this conclusion. We admit them, if we admit them at all, for the same reason that we allow, that not even divine power can make two and two equal to five, or cause a circle continuing a circle to become a square. On the other hand, if the freedom of the will is a possibility, then man possesses, and has always possessed it. None of the reasoning, which is employed in this question, tends to demonstrate, that man was once free, but that he has been deprived of his freedom. The doctrine is not connected with that of original sin; but to prove that man comes into the world a depraved being, if it can be proved, recourse must be had to other arguments, and not to necessity. In a word, the main argument for necessity would be exactly the same, if there was no such effect as sin in the universe.

Thirdly, if man is not a free agent, the same arguments,



which establish this point, go very far in demonstrating, that the Supreme Being is a necessary agent. For if the human mind is not free, because it is governed by motives, can any other mind be free, if it is influenced by similar causes? To destroy the force of this reasoning, shall we say, that the wisest of beings acts without motives? This I presume no person of reflection and piety can for a moment suppose. The conclusion therefore is unavoidable, that there is no freedom on earth, and none in heaven. This daring proposition is maintained by Cooper, and several other necessarians; and it must be confessed that, in this respect, they have the merit of consistency.

Fourthly, the doctrine of necessity, whether true or not, is not taught in the sacred scriptures. Without entering into any metaphysical disquisitions, they take it for granted, and frequently assert in plain terms, that man is a free agent. The scriptures, it is true, maintain the providence and foreknowledge of God; and from these truths metaphysical divines have inferred the doctrine of necessity: but as the scriptures themselves do not make the inference, the argument stands on the same ground, as those which are derived from the reason and nature of things. There are, it is confessed, several obscurities and difficulties in the subject; but as one doctrine is not more clearly and positively asserted than the other, we must endeavour to reconcile them together as well as we can; remembering always, that we have no more right to give up the doctrine of free agency, because it appears inconsistent with the providence and foreknowledge of God, than we have to give up the providence and foreknowledge of God, because they appear inconsistent with the doctrine of free agency.

Fifthly, necessity, if the doctrine is true, must extend to every thing; not only to actions, but to motives; not only to consequences, but to causes: every link of the chain must be indissoluble. There cannot be but one agent in the universe: God must be the author of every thing which exists, of evil, as well as good, of sin, as well as holiness. The timid necessarian startles at these conclusions. As he allows, that God hates nothing which he has made, he is afraid to say, that God is the author of moral evil, lest he should be found to assert,

that God does not hate sin. But this consequence, whether absurd or not, whether pernicious or harmless, is justly chargeable to the doctrine of necessity. It is boldly admitted by the consistent necessarian; and he endeavours to divest it of its horrors, by maintaining that the moral evil, which exists in the universe, is absolutely necessary to the production of good, and is created for the sake of displaying the boundless majesty of the eternal God.

Sixthly, if necessity extend<sup>d</sup> to every effect, it must be so complete, that it is the same thing to us, as if it did not exist. One part of our nature being moved by external power, as well as another, the appearance is exactly the same, as if there was no motion whatever. The globe, which we inhabit, is impelled round the sun; but as we and all the objects on it revolve with it, it seems to us to be at rest: so our minds may be impelled; but as every thing within us and around us is subject to the same law, the impulse is not felt. This I say on the supposition, that the doctrine of necessity is true: but if, on the other hand, the doctrine of freedom is a truth, that also must be complete; it must extend to all the motions, which are called voluntary. Man must possess the same freedom in religion, as in the common actions of life; and as no person of a sound mind suffers the doctrine of necessity to influence him in his temporal concerns, he ought not to suffer it to have any influence in the great business of piety and virtue.

Lastly, we are conscious that we are free; we feel exactly as we should feel, if the doctrine of necessity was false. For every practical purpose therefore it must be false to us. When we are virtuous, necessity does not prevent us from enjoying self approbation. On the other hand, when we do wrong, necessity does not disarm remorse of its sting; conscience still retains its dominion; it whispers peace to our souls, or sounds in our ears the alarm of death and misery. Thus it is in this world; and will it not be so in the other? Will it be of any avail to plead the doctrine of necessity at the bar of God; but if we have done good, shall we not be rewarded; if we have done evil, shall we not be punished?

It may be concluded from the observations, which have

been made, that necessity, though philosophy may have many things to allege in its defence, is not the doctrine of common sense, is not the doctrine of the scriptures. It may amuse or confound the learned in the retirement of their studies; but it ought not to be brought before the public; it ought not to be talked of in the streets; it ought not to be proclaimed in the pulpit. When it is philosophical necessity, when it is admitted completely, and connected with the belief that God is infinitely good, it is perhaps a harmless opinion: but when it is forced into the brains of the ignorant, who can understand it in part only; when it is associated, as it usually is, in their creeds, with the terrific doctrines of reprobation, total depravity, and everlasting misery, it becomes worse than useless: it overwhelms their minds, and fills them with gloom; and it is frequently accompanied with bitterness of spirit, an uncandid temper, an unrelenting severity. Its supposed influence on religion induces many to appear in its defence; but this advantage is altogether imaginary.

For it is not peculiarly favorable to what they most highly prize, to what they call orthodoxy, as it may be made consistent with Arminianism, as well as with Calvinism; and accordingly writers of both these denominations have espoused the doctrine of necessity.

Nor is it peculiarly favourable to piety; because it does not exalt the power, wisdom, and goodness of God, more than the doctrine of freedom; and in truth not so highly, as it is certainly a more splendid display of those attributes to create an intelligent agent, endowed with choice, than to form a mere machine, however curious.

Nor is it peculiarly favorable to humility. Humility consists in not thinking of ourselves highly, and in being sorry and ashamed, when we have done wrong: but if our actions are a necessary part of the chain of events, we are as important in the universe as the most exalted archangel in heaven, and there is nothing, for which we ought to be either ashamed or sorry. A mountain may figuratively be called proud, and a valley, humble; but literally speaking, the former is only high, and the latter, low: it is the same with the mind of man; if all its motions

are necessary, humility does not belong to it, as humility is entirely a moral quality.

J. A. M.

### THE MORNING INQUIRY, No. III.

*An attempt to show that the trinitarian theory is a departure from all analogy in the use of language; and how far it is contradicted by the natural import of bible language.*

**T**HERE are several particulars in the trinitarian system, which are a departure from all analogy in the use of language. Of this nature are the following:

1. There are three *distinct persons* in *one Being*, or *one God*.

It is presumed that no analogy can be found in favor of such a use of the terms *distinct persons*.

2. Christ is both *God* and *man* in *one person*.

In the first proposition we had *three distinct persons* for *one Being*. But now we have *two distinct Beings* for *one Person*; which is equally a departure from all analogy.

3. God and his Son, or the *Father* and the *Son*, are the same Being. If it can be done, let some analogy be produced, in which a father and his son are the same being.

4. The Son of God is selfexistent.

5. The *same person* is both *absolutely dependent*, and *absolutely independent*. This is abundantly implied in what is said of Christ as *God* and *man* in *one person*.

6. A proper man destitute of *human personality*. In every other case a proper *man* is supposed to be a *human person*. But of Christ it is affirmed, that he is a *proper man*, yet not a *human person*, because his personality is wholly in *his divine nature*, and not in his *human nature*."

As in the foregoing propositions there is a departure from all analogy in the use of words, of course the propositions are unintelligible and useless, when words are used in a sense which agrees with *no analogy*, the *meaning*, if any, can never be known, until an intelligible explanation of the terms be given,

And so long as the *meaning* of the words shall remain unknown, the proposition is not only useless, but of evil tendency. For, by the aid of analogy, erroneous sentiments will naturally be formed.

Firmly believing that this system is not in agreement either with the *language* or the *meaning* of the bible, I shall now proceed to show how far it is contradicted by the natural import of scripture language. In doing this, I shall not attempt to quote all the passages of scripture which are opposed to the system; for this would be to quote a very considerable part of the bible. But I shall exhibit a number of *classes* of texts, by which the theory is either *explicitly* or *implicitly* and plainly contradicted.

I. The most numerous class of texts to be mentioned is that in which a *pronoun* or *verb* of the singular number is used in agreement with a name of the Supreme Being.

According to the established and acknowledged rules of grammar; a pronoun or verb must agree with its noun in *number*. If by the *noun* or *name*, three persons be intended, the pronouns and verbs must be of the plural number; but if by the noun one person only be intended, the pronoun and verb must be of the singular number. This rule is regarded in the bible, as well as in other writings. Consequently, every text in which a pronoun or verb of the singular number is used, as agreeing with a *name* of *God*, stands opposed to the doctrine of three distinct persons in one God.

Example: Isa. xlii. 8. "I am the LORD; that is, *my* name, and *my* glory will I not give to another." If by the LORD were intended *three persons*, the text would naturally stand thus:

*We* are the LORD; that is, *our* name and *our* glory will *we* not give to another.

Again, Mal. ii. 16. "For the Lord the God of Israel saith that *he* *hateth* putting away."

If three persons had been intended, it would have been thus: say that *they* *hate* putting away.

But whatever name or title is used for God in the bible, the pronouns and verbs are of the singular number. It is thus in both the Old Testament and the New. Therefore through-

out the bible God is represented as one person only, by the uniform use of singular pronouns and verbs in agreement with his names and titles.

II. In the second class of texts we may include all in which Christ is represented as the Son of God.

It is presumed that no person of sounder will deny that the term *Son* naturally means a *being* distinct from his father. There are indeed several senses in which the term *Son* is used, but no one in which by a son is meant the same being as his father. Therefore every text in which Christ is represented as the Son of God may justly be considered as opposed to the doctrine of three persons in one God.

This class includes not only every text in which Christ is called the *Son of God*, but every text in which God is represented as *his Father*; and also every text in which the relation of Father and Son is represented as existing between Christ and God. And as this relation of Father and Son runs throughout the New Testament, the general tenor of these sacred writings stands directly opposed to the trinitarian scheme.

III. In the third class we may include all those texts, in which the *Holy Spirit* is represented as bearing the relation to God of an *attribute*, or as *subordinate* to his will, or the will of Christ. The Spirit is represented as bearing the relation of an *attribute*, when spoken of in the following manner; *my Spirit*, *thy Spirit*, *his Spirit*, *thy holy Spirit*, *his holy Spirit*, the *Spirit of God*, &c. It is represented as subordinate to the will of God, when it is spoken of as something which God *gives*, *distributes*, *pours out*, *sheds forth* or *sends*.

It is represented as something subordinate to the will of Christ, when he is represented as *baptizing with the spirit* as John *baptized with water*, when he promises to send it, and when he is said to shed it forth, &c. &c.

This class will include much the greater part of the texts in which the Holy Spirit is so much as named; whether it be called the Holy Ghost, Holy Spirit, the Spirit, the Spirit of the Lord, the Spirit of the Father, or the Spirit of Christ.

IV. In this class we may include all the texts of the following descriptions.

Those which represent God as *giving* or *sending* his Son; or the Son as *sent*, as *coming forth from God*.

Those which represent the Son as acting in obedience to his Father's will, or as being directed, supported, assisted or instructed by God, as praying to God or trusting in him.

Those which represent the Son as suffering, dying, being raised from the dead, and exalted to the right hand of God.

Those which represent the Son as receiving from God fulness, authority, offices or titles of dignity.

Those which represent God as creating, governing, saving, speaking, judging, or in any manner acting by Christ.

Those which represent God as *in* Christ, dwelling in him, or causing his *name*, his spirit, or his fulness to be in him.

Those which represent the Son as a Mediator between *God* and *men*, an advocate or intercessor. And

Those which represent Christ as having a God as well as a Father.

It is presumed that there is not one of the ideas, or the forms of speech referred to in this fourth class of texts, which can, by any analogy in the use of language, be reconciled to the hypothesis that God and his Son are the *same Being*. Therefore, the natural import of all this variety of scripture language is opposed to the trinitarian doctrine.

V. We have a small class of texts which, in the most unequivocal manner, imply, that the Holy Spirit is not a person equal with the Father or Son. These may be particularly examined.

Matt. xi. 27. and Luke x. 22. "All things are delivered to me of my Father, and no one knoweth the Son but the Father, and no one knoweth the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him."

In our translation we read *no man* instead of *no one*. But this is not justified by the original. Besides it could not be the meaning of Christ to represent the *Father* as a *man*; yet he is so represented when we say *no man* knoweth the Son but the *Father*. Not only the original text, but the *sense* of the passage, evidently requires that we should read "*no one* knoweth the Son but the *Father*," &c. The text evidently teaches that there is

a kind or degree of mutual knowledge of each other between the Father and the Son which no other person possesses. But if the Spirit be a *person*, and *equal* with the Father and the Son, why did Christ treat the Spirit with such entire neglect, while proclaiming the knowledge of the Father and himself? Why did he not say, no one knoweth the Son but the *Father* and the *Spirit*, and no one knoweth the Father but the *Son* and the *Spirit*? What he has affirmed fairly implies, either that the Spirit is *not a person*, or that it is a person of *limited knowledge*. Either of which is contradictory to the trinitarian hypothesis.

Again, Mark xiii. 33. "But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but my Father."

In Matt. xxiv. 36. we have the passage a little differently expressed. "But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels, but my Father only."

As this is the language of Christ himself, we are not to question the correctness of his representation. But we ought with humility to remember that when he uttered these words, he had for our sakes become poor. And to this circumstance we may perhaps properly attribute his want of knowledge respecting "that day and hour." The Father loveth the Son, and showeth him all things that himself doeth. But the Son was then in a state of poverty and abasement, and the knowledge "of that day and hour" might not be at *that time* and in *that condition* necessary to him. The more perfect and full disclosure to him of the counsels of the Father was reserved for his state of exaltation, when he should "take the book and open the seals."

But the passages now before us distinctly exclude the Spirit as a person of equal knowledge with the Father.—The knowledge of that day and hour was not possessed by *any one* except the "Father only." Why did Christ except the Father and *not* the Spirit, if the spirit were a *person* of equal knowledge with the Father?

Thus I have exhibited several classes of texts, which, in my view, stand opposed to the trinitarian scheme. More might



be added, but it is believed, the several classes already in view include more than forty-nine fiftieths of all the passages in the Bible which have any direct relation to God, or his Son, or his Holy Spirit. And it is presumed that no one text is included in either class which can, according to the most natural meaning of language, be reconciled to the doctrine, that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are three *distinct persons* in *one* and the *same Being*.

Is it not then astonishing that any divines in this enlightened age of the world should boldly affirm, that "the revealed God is three distinct persons," and censure all who deny the doctrine, as little better than atheists? Can it be, that they have carefully and impartially examined the subject in the light of revelation? And is it not still more astonishing that any should pretend, that the *natural meaning of bible language leads to such a conclusion?*

As a farther confirmation of the truth that the "Holy One of Israel" was not the Holy THREE of Israel, let us take into view the manner in which Paul preached to the heathen at Athens, respecting their "inscription to the unknown God." If Paul supposed the "revealed God" to be three distinct persons, we may naturally expect such would be his representation to the Athenians, who were ignorant of the "revealed God." But what is the fact? Did he represent God as *three persons*, or as *one person only*? Let his own language decide the question.

"Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you. God, who made the world and all things therein, seeing that He is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands."

Does this language represent God as *three persons*? No verily; but distinctly as *one person*. And thus he goes through his discourse, using singular pronouns as substitutes for the name of God, and this without saying one word to prevent mistake. When he came near the close of his discourse, he assured his hearers, that "the times of this ignorance God winked at, but now He commands all men every where to repent; because He hath appointed a day, in the which he will judge the world in righteousness, by that man whom he hath ordained;

whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that He hath raised him from the dead.

The object of the apostle was to give the heathen correct ideas of the *true God*, and the way of life. Why did he not tell them that the God they ought to worship was *three* distinct persons? Why did he use language, which would naturally lead his hearers into a belief, that the *true God* was *one person only*? And a being perfectly distinct from the one *by whom* he would judge the world?

It will, perhaps, be said that he was preaching to an ignorant people, who could not have understood him, had he taught the doctrine of *three persons in one God*. But to this it may be replied, if they were ignorant they had the more need of instruction; but although they were ignorant of the true God, yet they were, perhaps, the most learned people then in the world, and as capable of understanding *language* as any to whom the apostle ever preached. That they could not have understood the doctrine of *three persons in one God* will be admitted. But in this respect they were on a level with *Christian divines* of the present time. And if the obscurity of the doctrine might then be a reason for neglecting to preach it, the same reason holds good to this very day.

But the forms of speech used by Paul on that occasion were by no means singular. As Paul spake of God, so did the Prophets, so did Christ and his other apostles.

It is believed that no well informed person will pretend, that the Jews, before the coming of Christ, had any idea that *their God* was *more than one* person. It may however be imagined, that the doctrine of the trinity was one of the mysteries to be revealed after the coming of Christ. Had this been true we might expect to find, that Christ or his apostles had *labored* to establish this doctrine in their preaching. But so far from this being the case, we do not find this doctrine so much as named in any sermon or discourse delivered either by Christ or his apostles: But in every sermon we have on record, they spake of God as *one person only*, just as Paul did in his discourse to the men of Athens. Yea, I feel safe in affirming, that the doctrine of *three persons in God* is neither *stated now*

*intimated in any sermon recorded in the Bible, whether delivered by a prophet, by Christ, or by an apostle. Therefore, trinitarian preaching, so far as it respects the doctrine in question, is a complete departure from all the examples recorded in the Bible, the standard of truth.*

The censure implied in the foregoing representation is indeed of a serious nature, and with all its weight it falls on myself, in respect to past conduct; yet on serious inquiry and full conviction of its truth I have made the remark.

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## AN ACCOUNT OF THE CONTROVERSY

BETWEEN DR. PRIESTLEY, DR. HORSLEY, THE MONTHLY REVIEWER,  
AND OTHERS.

*Continued from vol. ii. page 288.*

WE come now to that part of the controversy, which relates to the account that Dr. Priestley has given:—1. Of the origin of the doctrine of the Trinity, particularly in respect to the divine nature of Christ: and 2. Of the form in which it was held by the Fathers who lived before the Nicene Council, or, as they are called, the Antenicene Fathers. It had its origin, according to him, in the theology of Plato. The great majority of the early Fathers had been among his followers and admirers; and when they became converts to Christianity, they brought along with them the rudiments of this doctrine from the schools of their philosophy. Desirous of freeing themselves from what they considered the disgrace of being the disciples of a crucified man, they took advantage of what they found to their purpose in the writings of Plato, and of his follower Philo, and in the Platonic philosophy as professed in their times, and formed out of the materials with which they were thus furnished, the doctrine of a preexistent Logos, the maker of the world under God, the medium of his dispensations to mankind, and who, becoming incarnate, appeared on earth as the immediate author of the Christian dispensation. The doctrine of the trinity however by no means assumed at once its proper form and proportions, and it was not till the period succeeding the council

of Nice, that is, till the fourth century, that it was fully developed. This mysterious article of faith, which has humbled to its reception the reason of so many superior minds, which so much ingenuity has been employed in laboring to explain and defend, and which has been the occasion of so much sin and misery, of so much bitter animosity and merciless persecution, was, according to Dr. Priestley, a mere fiction of the Platonic school of Alexandria, the mother of the most absurd philosophy with which Europe was ever disgraced.

With whatever force of evidence it might be shown, that the doctrine of the trinity is not a doctrine of the scriptures; that it was never preached by Christ and his apostles, because no such effects ever existed as its preaching would have produced; and that it was always rejected by the Jewish believers; and for a long time not received by the great majority of Gentile Christians; still something might seem to be wanting to prove it not a doctrine of Christianity, unless it could be shown from what other source it might have had its origin. But another source from which it might have been derived can easily be pointed out. That there is a striking resemblance between the theology of the Platonic school and the doctrine of the trinity has never been denied. A much closer resemblance indeed between this doctrine and the opinions of Plato himself concerning the divinity, has been contended for by some of the orthodox, and among others by Dr. Horsley, than is maintained by Dr. Priestley. Plato, according to Dr. Priestley,\* as far as his ideas can be discerned in the obscurity in which they are involved, taught that there was one Supreme Being, the Good (*τὸ ἀγαθόν*). By him all things were formed, according to the permanent ideas, or patterns, in his divine mind (*νόος*). To the divine mind, (the *νοός*) Plato does not ascribe a proper and distinct personality. Beside these, is the Soul of the Universe (*ψυχή*) either created, or endued with intelligence, by the Supreme Being, distinct from him and far inferior. Such is the representation which Dr. Priestley has given of the notions of Plato respecting the divinity, in which representation he is supported by the very learned Brucker in his history

\* See Hist. of Erel. Opp. B. i. c. 6.

of philosophy.\* For something however much more than this Dr. Horsley contends, and he tells us that the notions respecting the Godhead of the Platonic school, "had they been of later date than the commencement of Christianity, might have passed for a very mild corruption of the Christian faith; but being in truth much older, have all the appearance of a near, though very imperfect view, of the doctrine which was afterwards current in the Christian church."† With regard to the three things above mentioned, the Supreme Being, his Mind, and the Soul of the Universe, Dr. Horsley affirms, that "they are more strictly speaking one, than any thing in nature of which unity may be predicated. No one of them can be supposed without the other two. The second and third being, the first is necessarily supposed: and the first [*Αγαθόν*] being, the second and third, [*Νοῦς* and *Ψυχή*] must come forth. Concerning their equality, I will not say that the Platonists have spoken with the same accuracy, which the Christian fathers use; but they include the three principles in the divine nature, in the *τὸ Θεόν*; and this notion implies the same equality, which we maintain; at the same time I confess, that the circumstance of their equality was not always strictly adhered to by the younger Platonists."‡

But we proceed. The great majority of the early Fathers had been instructed in the Platonic philosophy, in which if the *Nous*, or, what is the same thing, the *Logos*, was not represented as a person, it was at least spoken of in the language of strong personification. Philo, a Jew of Alexandria, of the same philosophy, and of the same school with themselves, had in his writings represented the *Logos*, as having often assumed an occasional personality, and as having been the medium of the Divine communications to the Jewish people. With his writings they were well acquainted; and with notions of the *Logos* derived from him and from their philosophy, they came to the study of the Christian scriptures. Here they found, or believed they found, that Christ was spoken of under the name of the *Logos*. They readily understood the term in a similar

\* Hist. Crit. Philos. edit. sec. tom. i. p. 689. seq.

† Charge ii. § 1.

‡ Letters to Dr. Priestley, Let. 13.

sense to that in which it was used in their philosophy. They proceeded therefore to ascribe to Christ the same high character, and the same intimate union, with the divinity, which they had before ascribed to their Platonic Logos. They conceived him, according to Dr. Priestley, to have been at first the attribute of Wisdom in the Deity; but that afterward, before the creation of the universe, (this attribute being converted into a person) he assumed a proper personality. They believed with Philo, that the Logos was the medium of God's dispensations to the Jews; but they differed from him in supposing that personality permanent, which he had made only occasional. Thus, in consequence of the opinions and language with which they had been familiar, from the coincidence of a term used in the scriptures with a term in their philosophy, from a fondness for mystical and fanciful speculations characteristic of their school, and from a desire of elevating the character of their master, and freeing themselves from the reproach of the cross, the doctrine of the preexistence and divinity of the Christian Logos was formed by the early Fathers. It is a doctrine, something like which we might perhaps, from a consideration of these circumstances, without any previous knowledge of the fact, reasonably expect them to have invented.

It may not perhaps be generally known, especially to many modern defenders of the doctrine of the trinity, how very large a proportion of the early Fathers had been disciples, and continued to be admirers of the Platonic philosophy. On this subject I will produce the impartial testimony of Brucker, himself a believer in the orthodox doctrine of the trinity, and one who supposes that the orthodox doctrine was corrupted and debased, by the Antenicene Fathers, from the influence of their Platonic notions and the use of Platonic language. Part of what he has stated is correctly expressed in the following passage of his epitomizer, Enfield:—

“There can be no doubt, that a strong predilection for Platonic tenets prevailed among those Alexandrian philosophers, who became converts to the Christian faith. These philosophers, who, whilst they corrupted the system, had been accustomed to entertain the highest reverence for the name of Plato,

easily credited the report, that the doctrine of Plato concerning the divine nature had been derived from revelation, and hence thought themselves justified in attempting a coalition between Plato and Jesus Christ. A union of Platonic and Christian doctrines was certainly attempted in the second century, by Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, and Clemens Alexandrinus, in whose writings we frequently meet with Platonic sentiments and language; and it is not improbable, that this corruption took its rise still earlier. In opposing the Gnostic heresies, those Christian teachers, who had been instructed in the Alexandrian doctrines, adopted from them whatever they thought consonant to Christian truth, and favorable to their cause. From the time that Ammonius Sacca, in order to recommend his Eclectic system to the attention of Christians, accommodated his language to the opinions which were then received among them, the mischief rapidly increased. Origen, and other Christians, who studied in his school, were so far duped by this artifice, as to imagine that they discovered, in the system of the Platonists, traces of a pure doctrine concerning the Divine Nature, which, on the ground above-mentioned, they judged themselves at liberty to incorporate into the Christian faith. Entering upon the office of Christian teachers under the bias of a strong partiality for Plato and his doctrine, they tintured the minds of their disciples with the same prejudice, and thus disseminated Platonic notions, as Christian truths; doubtless, little aware how far this practice would corrupt the purity of the Christian faith, and how much confusion and dissension it would occasion in the Christian church."\*

That Justin Martyr† had been a disciple of the Platonic

\* Enfield's Hist. of Phil. B. vi. c. 2. See Brucker's chapter on the philosophy of the ancient Christians, particularly § xxii. "Mature hanc de Platoniorum quorundam dogmatum veritate et origine Hebraica opinionem inter Christianos invaluisse, et jam seculo post C. N. primo ejus vestigia reperiri, ex supra dictis est manifestum. Maxime vero incrementa ea cepit solito majora, ubi viri docti, qui Alexandriz philosophiam Platonicam didicerunt ad Christiana sacra transivissent," &c. Tom. iii p. 337.

† With regard to what is said of Justin Martyr and the following Fathers, so far as the authority of Brucker is quoted, see the chapter above mentioned, and that which follows it 'on the philosophy of the Christian Fathers. In particular,' or the two corresponding chapters in Enfield.

philosophy, there is no question, as we are informed of it by himself in his shorter Apology. A considerable part at least of his doctrine concerning the Logos, as well as some other of his doctrines, are, as is shown by Brucker, to be traced to this philosophy. It is clear, says Brucker, that he cannot be wholly freed from the charge of Platonism. We shall do him no injustice, he adds, if we number him among the Platonic philosophers, but among the deserters from Plato to Christ. "He used words borrowed from his philosophy extremely improper and unfit in speaking of the Logos."

Theophilus of Antioch has some things, says Brucker, which shew that he was strongly attached to the Platonic philosophy, especially his doctrine concerning the Logos.

Athenagoras was an examiner of the opinions of all sects, but particularly attached to the doctrines of Platonism, which, according to Brucker, he has introduced among and united with those of Christianity, especially in reference to the Logos.

Irenæus, says the same authority, was educated in Platonism. "He has in some things such manifest marks of Alexandrine Platonism, that Massuet, who has endeavoured to free him from the charge of those errors of doctrine which have been imputed to him, cannot deny it, and it is sufficiently apparent, that he had the same opinion of the Platonic philosophy, which led very many Fathers of the second century into error." "He transferred into Christianity the errors of the Alexandrine system, if not in respect to the doctrine, at least in respect to the representation of the doctrine of the holy trinity."

Tertullian is as little liable as any one of the Fathers to the charge of Platonism; "but like the other teachers of the church he borrowed," says Brucker, "from the Platonic philosophy, arguments, ideas, and modes of expression, to explain and defend the mystery of the trinity."

I might proceed in quoting the similar mention which Brucker makes of other Fathers, particularly Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen; but it is unnecessary after the specimens I have given. The fact of the Platonism of the early Fathers is conceded by Dr. Horsley: "I am very sensible," he says, "that the Platonizers of the second century were the



orthodox of that age. I have not denied this. On the contrary, I have endeavoured to shew that their Platonism brings no imputation upon their orthodoxy. The advocates of the catholic faith, in modern times, have been too apt to take alarm at the charge of Platonism. I rejoice and glory in the opprobrium. I not only confess, but I maintain, not a perfect agreement, but such a similitude, as speaks a common origin, and affords an argument in confirmation of the Catholic doctrine, from its conformity to the most ancient and universal traditions."\*

There can be no doubt, from what has been stated, that the doctrine of the trinity *might* have had its origin in the Platonic philosophy. Further proof however that it *might* have had such an origin, is derived from the particular consideration of two circumstances. One of these is the manner in which this doctrine, or rather those opinions, which were afterward formed into this doctrine, were at first explained and defended. On this subject I quote the words of Dr. Horsley. "It must be acknowledged," he says, "that the first converts from the Platonic school, took advantage of the resemblance between the Evangelic and the Platonic doctrine on the subject of the Godhead, to apply the principles of their old philosophy to the explication and the confirmation of the articles of their faith. They defended it by arguments drawn from Platonic principles; they even propounded it in Platonic language: which to themselves and their contemporaries was the most familiar and intelligible, that could be employed upon so abstruse a subject. Nor was this practice to be condemned, so long as the scriptures and the catholic traditions were made the test of truth; so long as revelation was not pressed into the service of philosophy, by any accommodation of the pure evangelical doctrine to preconceived opinions; but philosophy was made to exert her powers in the defence of revelation, and to lend her language to be the vehicle of its sacred truths. These might be deemed the most promising means that could be employed, for bringing over more converts from the pagan schools. And the writers, who evangelized in this philosophical stile, conceived

\* Letters to Dr. Priestley, Let. 13.

perhaps, that they had the sanction of an apostle's example, for becoming all things to all men, that they might gain some.\*"

Brucker gives the same account with Dr. Horsley, of the Antenicene Fathers explaining the doctrine of the trinity, in the language of Platonism, and defending it by arguments drawn from this philosophy. He however, in opposition to Dr. Horsley, supposes, as I have before mentioned, that they did not teach the orthodox doctrine; but had corrupted this by the introduction of their Platonic notions. "For whilst the Fathers," he says, "without sufficient caution, compare the Christian doctrines with those of Plato, whilst they speak of them in Platonic language, and use modes of proof and illustration drawn from this philosophy, they not unfrequently do violence to the purity of the Christian religion, and corrupt the simplicity of the Christian mysteries with philosophical subtleties." "Those will confess," he adds, "to whom truth is superior to the prejudice of antiquity and authority, that they so discoursed concerning divine mysteries, and especially the doctrine of the holy trinity, that if we take their words merely (as we have no other rule of judging of them) it must be said that their orthodoxy suffered some human mixture, and glossed over by Platonism, lost something of that native splendor, with which it had been transmitted to them from the apostolic times."†

Brucker quotes the opinion of Huetius, "that very many of the Fathers endeavoured to illustrate Christianity by Academic glosses, and that the Antenicene Fathers imitated Platonic opin-

\* Charge iv. § 2.

† Dum enim cum Platonis dogmatibus patres satis incauti Christiana dogmata comparant, dum Platonice de illis loquuntur, et ex hac philosophia rationes probandi, illustrandique afferunt, ipsi haud raro puritati Christianæ religionis vim inferunt, et simplicitatem Christianorum mysteriorum subtilitate philosophica corrumpunt—At fitebuntur etiam, quibus veritas omni antiquitatis et auctoritatis præjudicio superior, potiorque est, eos ita de mysteriis nonnullis divinis præcipue de SS. Trinitatis dogmate discessuisse, ut, si verbis eorum standum sit (cum alia de iis judicandi norma non existat) dicendum omnino sit, eorum *ἐκδοξαί* humani aliquid passam, futoque Platónico illitaro amisisse non nihil splendoris illius nativi quem ad eos transmiserunt tempora apostolica. Hist. Crit. Phil. Tom. iii. p. 344.

ions in their doctrine concerning the holy trinity. The same thing," continues Brucker, "Dionysius Petavius acknowledged and proved, with that infinite reading and most acute judgment which he possessed; who being about to give an account of the doctrine of the Fathers concerning the holy trinity, thought it proper to prefix a treatise concerning the trinity of Plato, and likewise of Philo, and of Pseudo Mercurius. He then so explained the doctrine of the Antenicene Fathers concerning this mystery—of Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Athenagoras, Tatian, Theophilus of Antioch, and Clement of Alexandria—that he thought it necessary for him to confess with that candor which he possessed, that they both thought and wrote concerning this doctrine after the manner of Plato. Which confession of Petavius, although it was the fruit of his learning and candor, was the occasion of many complaints and accusations against him."\*

Beside the use which the Fathers made of Platonic language, ideas, and arguments, in explaining and defending the doctrine of the trinity, another circumstance, which shews that this doctrine *might* have been derived from the philosophy of Plato, is the fact that a very near approach was made to it, and opinions very similar to it were adopted by those of his followers who were not Christians. Concerning this, as there is no controversy, I will only quote a short passage from Dr. Priestley. "As the Christians," he says, "were admirers of Platonism, so we find that some of the Platonists were admirers of that part

\* Alio vero loco magis candide monet [Huetius], plerisque patres fuco academico doctrinam Christianam illustrare conatos, patresque Antenicenos in dogmate de SS. Trinitate Platonicas opiniones imitatos fuisse. Idem et agnovit, et, qua erat infinita lectione atque acutissimo judicio demonstravit doctissime Dionysius Petavius, qui patrum de SS. Trinitate doctrinam enarraturus, præmittendam sibi esse tractationem de trinitate Platonis, itemque Philonis et Pseudo Mercurii putavit; tumque patrum synodo Nicæna estate priorum Justini Martyris, Irenæi, Athenagoræ, Tatiani, Theophilli Antiocheni, et Clementis Alexandrini de hoc mysterio doctrinam ita exposuit, ut Platonis in modum eos et cogitasse et scripisse de eo, sibi, quo erat, candore fatendum esse existimaret. Quæ tamen Petavii confessio, quamvis eruditionis et integritatis ejus fructus esset, multarum querularum et accusationum causa auctori suo extitit. Hist. Crit. Phil. Tom. iii. pp. 344, 345.

of the Christian system which was formed after the model of Plato; and that they were particularly struck with the introduction to the gospel of John, as interpreted by the Platonic Christians. Basil, speaking of the first verses of John's gospel, says, that he knew many heathen philosophers, who admired them, and copied them into their own writings. Austin says, that a 'Platonic philosopher said, that the introduction to John's gospel ought to be written in letters of gold, and hung up in all churches.' Theodoret says, that Plutarch, Numenius, and others, after the appearance of our Saviour, inserted in their own discourses many things from the Christian theology."\*

It may be further observed, that one of the Fathers at least, I mean Austin, professed to have learnt the doctrine of the Logos, as he supposed it contained in the introduction of St. John's gospel, from some works of the Platonists, translated into Latin: "There," says he, "I read it, not in the same words, but the same thing supported by many and various arguments."†

To one who adopts the representations of some of the orthodox, who, as I have mentioned, maintain a much closer resemblance between the opinions of Plato and the doctrine of the trinity, than is supposed by Dr. Priestley, and whose representations therefore are much more favorable to his purpose than his own, there can be no question, without particularly regarding any other circumstances, that this doctrine *might* have been derived from the Platonic philosophy. Nor is it at all more doubtful that it *might* have had such an origin, if we consider Dr. Priestley's account of the theology and language of Plato and his followers, in connexion with the other circumstances which have been stated. This is all that is *necessary* to the purpose of Dr. Priestley. If this doctrine could have been traced to no other source than the Christian revelation, this would have been a difficulty, opposing itself to all arguments adduced, to prove it not a doctrine of Christianity. But it has been shown, that though it were unsupported by revelation, it is a corruption which might have been, and probably would have been early introduced. All the arguments therefore against it, from rea-

\* Hist. Earl. Opp. B. ii. c. 1.

† Confess. Op. Tom. i. p. 128. Hist. Earl. Opp. B. ii. c. 1.

son, and scripture, and the history of the church, may now act unimpeded and with their whole force.

But this is not all. If it can be proved that this doctrine *might* have been introduced from the Platonic philosophy, and if, in the manner in which it was originally taught and defended, it has all the appearance of having been thus introduced, these very facts, without considering any other objection to the doctrine, are in themselves an argument, of no mean force, to prove that it actually was so derived. It would be most extraordinary, if this mysterious doctrine had in truth two sources so distinct, as the philosophy of Plato, and the revelation of Jesus Christ. It is a doctrine, which, as a fiction of philosophy, we should least of all expect to find confirmed by revelation, and as a doctrine of revelation, we should least of all expect to have been previously attained by philosophy. It would be not a little embarrassing if there were any force in the sneer of Gibbon, who says that "the Athenian sage marvellously anticipated one of the most surprizing discoveries of Christianity."\* It is against the corruptions of our religion that the ridicule and the arguments of infidels are commonly directed.

The force of the preceding remarks, which are so obvious to every one, was felt by the Fathers; and they endeavoured to set them aside by a story, which is often repeated in their writings, that Plato derived his theology from the books of Moses, of which he found in Egypt a Greek translation prior to that of the Seventy. This idle story, I believe, is now pretty generally given up; and is sufficiently confuted by Brucker.† "Whatever," says Dr. Horsley, "some of the early Fathers may have imagined, there is no evidence, that Plato or Pythagoras were at all acquainted with the Mosaic writings."‡ Dr. Horsley therefore proposes another solution for this difficulty. He states that the doctrine of the trinity was very early revealed to the patriarchs; that the belief of it was universal before the defection of the first idolaters, and that some notion of it was a leading principle in all the ancient schools of philosophy,

\* Dec. and Fall of Rom. Emp. C. xxi.

† Hist. Crit. Phil. Tom. I. p. 635. seq.

‡ Charge à § 3.

and in the religions of almost all nations; and he traces even the particular channels by which he supposes a knowledge of it to have flowed down to Plato. The passage in which he does this may be found in the margin.\*

WE come next—2. To the account which Dr. Priestley has given of the opinions of the early Fathers respecting the character of Christ; or of the form in which the doctrine of the trinity was held by them, so far as it regards the second person. The principal controversy, on this part of the subject, was between him and Dr. Horsley, respecting what the early Fathers meant by THE GENERATION OF THE SON. Of this I shall give an account in what immediately follows.

According to Dr. Priestley, the early Fathers believed that Christ was an attribute of God, (considered as being more properly his wisdom or reason, but sometimes spoken of as his

\* "The Platonists pretended to be no more than the expositors of a more ancient doctrine: which is traced from Plato to Parmenides: from Parmenides to his masters of the Pythagorean sect: from the Pythagoreans to Orpheus, the earliest of Grecian Mystagogues: from Orpheus to the secret lore of the Egyptian priests, in which the foundations of the Orphic theology were laid. Similar notions of a triple principle prevailed in the Persian and Chaldean theology; and vestiges even of the worship of a trinity were discernible in the Roman superstition in a very late age. This worship the Romans had received from their Trojan ancestors. For the Trojans brought it with them into Italy from Phrygia. In Phrygia it was introduced by Dardanus so early as in the ninth century after Noah's flood. Dardanus carried it with him from Samothrace; where the personages, that were the objects of it, were worshipped under the Hebrew name of the Cabirim. Who these Cabirim might be, has been matter of unsuccessful inquiry to many learned men. The utmost that is known with certainty is, that they were originally Three, and were called by way of eminence, the Great or Mighty Ones: for that is the import of the Hebrew name. And of the like import is their Latin appellation, *Fenates*. *Dii per quos penitus spiritus, per quos habemus corpus, per quos rationem animi possidemus. Dii qui sunt intrinsecus, atque in intimis penetralibus cali.* Thus the joint worship of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, the Triad of the Roman Capitol, is traced to that of the THREE MIGHTY ONES in Samothrace; which was established in that island, at what precise time it is impossible to determine, but earlier, if Eusebius may be credited, than the days of Abraham." Charge ii. § 2.

power, his will, and even his soul,) converted into a person. This notion of the conversion of an attribute into a person was what they understood by his generation. They (the early Fathers) universally supposed it to have taken place not necessarily, but by the will of the Father. Many of them, probably all of them supposed it to have been not from eternity, but to have preceded the creation; the son being then generated, the attribute of wisdom then being endowed with personality, to be the minister of God in the work of creation.\*

To this statement of Dr. Priestley, Dr. Horsley replies, that it "betrays a total ignorance of the genuine principles" of the Platonic school; and "that the arguments brought in support of it can only be founded in gross misconstruction of the language" of the Platonic Fathers.† Dr. Priestley's statement, according to him, amounts to supposing a created Logos, and this is a supposition, which he states to be wholly inconsistent with the principles of Platonism. "After all," he says, "that Dr. Priestley hath written, about the resemblance between the ecclesiastical and the Platonic trinity; he hath yet, it seems, to learn, that a created Logos, a Logos which had ever not existed, was no less an absurdity in the academy, than it is an impiety in the church. The converts from Platonism must have renounced their philosophy, before they could be the authors of this absurd, this monstrous opinion."‡ "The conversion of an attribute into a person," he says, "whatever Dr. Priestley may imagine, is a notion to which they were entire strangers. They held indeed that the existence of the Son necessarily and inseparably attached to the attributes of the paternal mind: insomuch that the Father could no more be without the Son, than without his own attributes. But that the Son had been a mere attribute, before he became a person; or that the paternal attributes were older than the Son's personal existence, is a doctrine which they would have heard with horror and amazement. With horror, as Christians; with amazement, as philosophers!"§

Dr. Horsley allows indeed, "that the Platonic Fathers, although they held the eternity of the Second Person no less than

\* *Hist. of the Corruptions*, Part i. § 2. *Hist. of Earl. Opp. B. ii. c. 2, §*

† *Charge iv. § 4.*

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Ib. iv. § 2.*

of the First, imagined that his generation signified a particular transaction, which took place at a certain time."\* By this generation however he affirms was meant "no commencement of his existence, but the first exertion of his powers in the production of external substances: or to use a more Platonic phrase, the first projection of his energies, *προβολὴ τῶν ἐνεργημάτων*."

"If any thing," he adds, "be justly reprehensible in the notions of the Platonic Christians, it is this conceit, which seems to be common to Athenagoras with them all, and is a key to the meaning of many obscure passages in their writings, that the external display of the powers of the Son in the business of creation, is the thing intended, in the scripture language, under the figure of his generation. A conceit which seems to have no certain foundation in holy writ, and no authority in the opinions and the doctrines of the preceding age: and it seems to have betrayed some of those, who were the most wedded to it, into the use of a very improper language; as if a new relation had taken place between the First and the Second Person, when the creative powers were first exerted."†

This notion of the generation of the Son he maintains to be clearly expressed in a passage of Athenagoras, one of those which Dr. Priestley had adduced in support of his own opinion. The passage, as translated by Dr. Horsley, is as follows: "The Son is to the Father as the first offspring; not as something made; for God, being an eternal intelligence, himself from the beginning had the Logos in himself, being eternally rational; but that he went forth to be idea and energy in material substances, which yet lay in chaos, unqualified and undistinguished." In this passage Dr. Horsley contends, that Athenagoras affirms the actual existence of the Son, or the Logos from eternity, as being implied in the very nature of God; "because God, being eternally rational, ever had the Logos in himself." Having thus, according to Dr. Horsley, guarded those whom he was addressing, from supposing the generation of the Son to have been any commencement of his existence; he explains what he

\* Charge iv. § 9.

† *Ib.* iv. § 5, 6.



actually meant by it; he explains it to be "the going forth of the Son to exert his powers in the work of creation."\*

To what I have stated from Dr. Horsley, Dr. Priestley replied in the following manner. "Among the proofs of the origin of the Son, according to the early orthodox writers, I first quoted a passage in Athenagoras, which you translate somewhat differently from me; but not so as to affect my conclusion from it. For he evidently asserts, that the Logos was eternal in God only because God was always λογικος, *rational*, which entirely excludes proper personification. Can reason, as it exists in man, be called a person, merely because man is a *rational* being?" In addition to the above it may be noticed, that the Logos, or Wisdom, is said to be eternal in God, because God is an *eternal mind* (ὡς αἰδιος).

With regard to Dr. Horsley's notion of generation, Dr. Priestley says:—"That any mere *external display of powers* should ever be termed *generation*, is so improbable from its manifest want of analogy to any thing that ever was called *generation* before or since, that such an abuse of words is not to be supposed of these writers, or of any person, without very positive proof; and in this case you advance nothing but a mere conjecture, destitute of any thing that can give it a color of probability."†

"This sentence, Sir," says Dr. Horsley in reply, "only finishes the proof, if it were before defective, of your incompetency in the subject. It shews that you have so little acquaintance with Platonism, that your mind cannot readily apprehend a Platonic notion, when it is clearly set before you. What you take for my mere conjecture is the express assertion of Athenagoras, in the very passage which you have quoted: and Athenagoras, I should think, might be a sufficient evidence of his own meaning. He says, that the Son was called the Son, as being the first offspring of the Father—not because he was ever made, but because

\* Dr. Horsley has borrowed his account of what is meant by the generation of the Son, and his explanation of the passage of Athenagoras from Bishop Bull. See his Defens. Fid. Nic. sec. iii. c. 5. de Athenagoræ sententia.

† First Letters to Dr. Horsley; Let. 6.

he went forth to act upon material substances. He explains the generation of the Son, by declaring first what it signifies not; then, what it signifies. A making it signifies not; a going forth, according to Athenagoras, it signifies. That the generation of the Son of God is something, figuratively called a generation, will hardly be denied. Athenagoras declares what he understood by the figure; and the interpretation which he puts upon it, seems to have been general among the writers who came from the same school. It rests not however upon any conjecture, but upon his authority; the fault, Sir, is not in me; if you cannot perceive his meaning when it is rendered in our own language."<sup>\*</sup>

Dr. Horsley says it would be endless to accumulate authorities, in support of his opinion of what the Fathers meant by the generation of the Son; but that if the single testimony of Athenagoras be not sufficient, he will produce two more. "The first is that of Constantine the Great. The Emperor may be numbered among the Platonizing Christians; because, as you have yourself observed, he alleges the authority of Plato in support of the Catholic doctrine. Now Constantine the Great in his epistle to the Nicomedians, written after the Nicene council, uses these expressions—'he was begotten, or rather he himself came forth (being even ever in the Father) for the setting in order of the things which were made by him.' Here the emperor expounds generation by coming forth; he thinks, 'that he came forth,' the more significant expression; and he asserts the eternal co-existence of the Son and Father."<sup>\*</sup> The other testimony is derived from the letter of Arius and the priests and deacons of his faction to Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, in which they state their disbelief of the proposition "that the Son, previously existing, was afterward begotten"<sup>†</sup> in such a manner, that it may be inferred that the rejected proposition was the doctrine of the orthodox church.

With regard to the quotation from Constantine, Dr. Priestley replied:—"Constantine, whom you quote, as in your favor,

<sup>\*</sup> Letters to Dr. Priestley, Let. 13.

<sup>†</sup> Το αὐτὸ πρῶτον ὄντιον γεννητὸν

is directly against you.—You say, ‘the Emperor expounds *generation by coming forth*.’ But then, Sir, he does not say that this *generation*, or *coming forth*, was the same thing with the *setting in order the things that were made by him*; but it was evidently something that took place previous to this *setting in order*, and with a view to it; so that this mysterious *generation* preceded what you quaintly call the *projection of energies*, and was not the same thing with it.”\*

Dr. Priestley says nothing respecting the quotation from Arius. Dr. Horsley has curtailed the proposition which Arius denied, and which it appears was the doctrine of the orthodox church. It is remarkable that Dr. Horsley gives no reference, where it is to be found, and it is still more remarkable, that *when stated at length* it goes to prove the contrary of that for which he has adduced it. It goes to prove that not his own notion of generation, but that of Dr. Priestley was the doctrine of the orthodox. It is quoted for this very purpose by Whitby, in a work which I shall have occasion again to notice. The proposition then which the orthodox believed, and which Arius denied, is this—“that the Son previously existing, was afterward begotten, or made into a Son;”† that is to say, Arius denied, and the orthodox believed, that he had existence as an attribute of God previous to his being begotten, or constituted to be his Son. It is thus that it is understood by Whitby.‡

This is all the evidence which Dr. Horsley has produced in support of his opinion. For various passages from different Fathers which Dr. Priestley has alleged, as I do not know that there is any controversy respecting their being fairly quoted and correctly translated, I must refer to his History of Early Opinions, B. ii. c. ii. vol. ii. p. 44—145. I pass over merely for the sake of necessary brevity the few, and in general very unimportant remarks, which Dr. Horsley has made upon four of their number, and of course the answers of Dr. Priestley.§

\* Second Letters to Dr. Horsley, Let. 12.

† *Tu enim agnoscas, deique generatione a consubstantia esse cum* Epiphani. Hæc. 69.

‡ Disquisitiones Modestæ in Bull. Epilogus.

§ They may be found in the thirteenth of Dr. Horsley's Letters, and in the twelfth of Dr. Priestley's Second Letters.

Though Dr. Priestley's statement of what the early Fathers meant by the generation of the Son betrays, according to Dr. Horsley, gross ignorance of the Platonic philosophy; yet he allows that he is supported in it by two very respectable authorities. "It is but justice," he says, "to Dr. Priestley to acknowledge, what indeed he ought to have acknowledged for himself, that in this misinterpretation of the Platonic Fathers, he is not original: that he hath upon his side the respectable authority of two very eminent divines of the Roman church; Petavius and Huetius: which however is no more than a single authority; the pious bishop of Avranches, upon this subject, being but the echo of the very learned jesuit."\* Huetius was a man well acquainted with the Fathers, the original editor of the Commentaries of Origen, and the author of an elaborate work on his life, his writings, and his opinions. It might not perhaps be easy to shew, why his opinion should be without weight, because it coincides with that of Petavius. To Petavius, Dr. Horsley attributes the design of lessening the reputation and lowering the authority of the *early* Fathers, because their writings were used by the protestants against the catholic church. This motive, he says, induced him "to belie his better knowledge," and to charge them "with errors, which he was too learned not to know no Platonist could entertain." This account of the motives of Petavius Dr. Horsley has borrowed from Bishop Bull, except that the latter, who is not often too modest either in assertion or invective, produces, as his conjecture,† what Dr. Horsley affirms positively to have been the fact. With regard to Petavius, the reader may recollect the manner in which he is spoken of by Brucker in a passage I have quoted. Dr. Priestley mentions, in reply to Dr. Horsley, that he was quite ignorant of being supported by his authority or that of Huetius.

\* Charge iv. § 7.

† Quod si subdolo aliquo consilio, non ex solita tantum sibi audacia ac temeritate in sanctis Patribus censendis et notandis, ista scripsisse dicendus sit Petavius; putarim hominem, Jesuitam scilicet, Pontificiæ potius quam Arianæ causæ consultum voluisse, &c. Hoc autem nefario consilio ista scripsisse Petavium, non ausim certo affirmare, Deo *καταδικάζοντι* illud iudicium permittens. Defens. Fid. Nic. Proœmium, § 2.

These however are not the only authorities by which Dr. Priestley is supported. There is another of as high name in the protestant, as these are in the catholic church, I mean Whitby. He is an authority likewise, of which Dr. Horsley, who has borrowed so much of his learning from Bishop Bull, ought not to have been ignorant; for he has repeatedly expressed his opinion on this subject, in a short treatise, to which I have before referred, (his *Disquisitiones Modestæ in Cl. Bulli Defensionem Fidei Nicenæ.*) in which he will be thought by many to have given the work of Bull, on which Dr. Horsley relies, as satisfactory a refutation as any work ever received. One of the passages in which Whitby has explained, in the same manner as Dr. Priestley, what the Antenicene Fathers meant by the generation of the Son, is given in the margin, with references to others, where the same explanation may be found.\*

The passage of Athenagoras is likewise understood by Brucker, in a similar manner as by Dr. Priestley, and by him also the notion it contains is affirmed to have been derived from the Platonic school. "Whether," he says, "the meaning of Athenagoras be always sound, and whether he have not followed Platonic subtleties more than the simplicity of scripture, is not here the place to determine. It belongs rather to the history of the theology of the ancient church. But it is easy for the reader to judge for himself, if he consider the doctrine of Athenagoras concerning angels, to say nothing of others, particularly his doctrine concerning the Logos going forth in time from God by *emanation*, to the work of creation; which, when Bull attempts to give it an orthodox sense, he rather shews what meaning the words of Athenagoras ought to have, than what

\* Semper enim in Deo Patre fuisse λόγον ὑδακτόν sermonem in corde ejus inaitum, eundemq; generatione προφορικῶς prolatum esse, quando Deus ea facere voluit de quibus deliberaverat, Patres Antenicæni docent; eumq; genuisse Patrem, ἐκγευκµένον πρὸ τῶν ὁλῶν, cum ex se eructando ante universa, discretim asserunt, et ex Psalmo 44, sive 45 probant. Hinc Filium à Patre προγενέσθαι, προελθεῖν, ἐκελθεῖν, ἐκκλῖσι, progredi, eire, iidem Patres uno ore prædicant; Deumq; Patrem solum fuisse adusq; Filii generationem, ex Theophilo Antiocheno, Tatiano, et Tertulliano probavimus. Ipse deniq; Tertullianus, ad quem nos hic præcipue remittit Praul, expresse agnoscit, immo contendit, Filium de Deo prolatum, et prolatione generatum, et à Patre emissum esse. pp. 196, 197. edit. sec. Vid. et p. 49. seq. p. 56. p. 106. pp. 173, 174.

they really express."\* In a similar manner Brucker understands a passage of Theophilus, quoted by Dr. Priestley, and supposes, that Theophilus accommodated his explanation of the Christian Logos to the notions of the Platonist whom he was addressing. "He, as it is very probable," says Brucker, "thought it would be sufficient, if he should prove to Autolychns, what, agreeably to the principles of the later Platonism, he could not deny, that the Logos was from eternity in God, subsisting in him as essential reason, but that, when God conceived the design of creating the world, at His command the Logos went forth from his essence, as the minister of his will, that is, the Word was prolated. Which notion is nearer to the system of emanation than to that of Christianity."† In a similar manner likewise, Brucker understands a passage of Tatian, quoted by Dr. Priestley.‡

Such are the authorities,§ which a very limited examination

\* *Utrum autem Athenagoras ubique seniore sensum expresserit, et annon Platonis magis subtilitates, quam scripturae simplicitatem sensus fuerit, nostri hoc loco non est definire, et ad historiam theologiae veteris ecclesiae pertinet, facile autem iudicium ipse interponet lector suum, si doctrinam Athenagorae de lapsu, operationeque angelorum expenderit, ut alia ipsamque de λογος doctrinam ad creationem demum ex Deo per emanationem progressu doceamus: quoniam ubi ad orthodoxos sensus revocat Bullus, ostendit magis quam significationem verba ejus habere debeant, quam, quem sensum fundant.* Tom. iii. p. 406.

† Qui, ut verisimile, sufficere putavit, si demonstraret Autolyco, quod Platonismum juniorem secutus negare non posset, λογος ab aeterno inesse Deo, tanquam rationem essentialem in eo subsistentem; ubi autem mundi condendi consilium Deus cepisset, cum ερωτης voluntatis suae progredi ex essentia sua jussisset, id est, verbum hoc protulisset. Quae emanationis systemati supra explicato magis affinia sunt, quam Christiano. Tom. iii. p. 401.

‡ Vide p. 382. seq.

§ To these authorities, I might have added that of a name less known, but probably not unknown to some of my readers, John Jackson. In his edition of the works of Novatian he thus expresses himself in one of his additional notes:—"Observavi—authoris nostri animo, ut et aliorum veterum, incedisse opinionem, Verbum Dei primitus existisse in Deo Patre *αὐτογενὲς καὶ ἀγεννητὸν*, sine hypostasi et ingenito modo, sicuti Intellectum sive Rationem in mente humana; atque postea ex *virtute interna* non personam, sed *voluntate* Dei processisse in propriam et distinctam a Patre personam." p. 391. The opinion which Dr Priestley has advanced on the subject in question appears to have very little novelty. It is however much more fully illustrated and supported by him than by any other writer whom I have consulted.

may enable one to produce, by which Dr. Priestley is partially or wholly supported, in his statement of what the early Fathers meant by the generation of the Son;—the very learned Jesuit, Petavius; Huetius, the author of the *Orogeniana*; Whitby, who tells us that he had read, and not carelessly, the Antenicene Fathers more than once;\* and Brucker, the historian of ancient and modern philosophy. All these, except Petavius who belied his better knowledge, have to share with Dr. Priestley the disgrace of being patrons of that most absurd opinion which he has advanced, and are equally liable with him to the charge of “total ignorance of the genuine principles” of the Platonic school, and “gross misconstructions” of the language of the Fathers.

If, as there can be no doubt, considering the authorities which have been mentioned, the opinion which Dr. Priestley has advanced implies no ignorance; if it be probably the correct opinion, as it is that which men of great learning have drawn from the writings of the Fathers; and if especially it be supported both by the passage of Athenagoras (on which principally Dr. Horsley relies,) and by various other passages produced by Dr. Priestley, to which I must again refer the reader, whose meaning does not seem to admit of ambiguity; then the charge of ignorance and misconstruction recoils heavily upon his opponent. The latter has not lessened its returning force upon himself by any modesty or decency in charging it upon Dr. Priestley. If the case be as I have stated, the reader will learn from this example (not more however, it may be, than from many others I have adduced) how little reliance is to be placed on Dr. Horsley’s most confident assertions, and how unfounded are sometimes his most arrogant claims to superior learning.

If such as has been stated was the doctrine of the Antenicene Fathers respecting the generation of the Son, it follows, that they could not have believed in his proper eternity; but on the contrary, that they supposed the commencement of his personal existence to have immediately preceded the creation of

\* —*Mihi Patres Antenicenes non semel nec oscitante legenti.*—*Diss. Mod. p. 196.*

the universe, or what was the same thing with them, the creation of the world. The fact indeed of their not asserting, but on the contrary expressly denying his proper eternity, may be shewn from various passages, not directly relating to the subject of his generation. Such is the following quoted by Dr. Priestley from Clemens Alexandrinus. "He [God] shewed that he was righteous by the logos from of old, from the time he became a Father; for he was God before he was a creator, and he was good; and on this account he chose to be a creator, and a Father." Such likewise is the following quoted by him from Tertullian. "God," says Tertullian, "was not always a Father or a judge; since he could not be a Father before he had a son, nor a judge before there was sin; and there was a time when both sin and the Son, which made God to be a judge and a Father were not."\*

To these and similar passages I do not know that any reply has been made by the opponents of Dr. Priestley. Nor do I find that any direct reply has been made to him, respecting a great body of other evidence that he has produced, to substantiate the fact, that THE INFERIORITY OF THE SON TO THE FATHER WAS THE DOCTRINE OF ALL THE ANTENICENE FATHERS. It would have been easy, he says, to have doubled the number of passages which he has brought forward; and of this no one can have any doubt, who has even but a slight acquaintance with the writings of these Fathers. The reader who is desirous of further investigating this subject may consult the work of Dr. Priestley, in which the passages I have mentioned are principally contained; his *History of Early Opinions*, B. ii. c. 4. or the *Disquisitiones Modestæ* of Whitby, which I have before mentioned, and in which there is a larger collection. I will add however a few passages, as specimens of the manner in which the ancient Fathers expressed themselves, without confining myself to those given by Dr. Priestley.

To begin then with Justin Martyr. A great part of his *Dialogue with Trypho* is occupied in proving Christ to be a God; but another God from him who is the Creator of all things and God over all; generated by His volition; the minister of His will; His angel or messenger, and apostle; and de-

\* *Hist. Earl. Opp.* B. ii. c. 3. sec. 4.



pendent on Him as the cause of his existence, and of his being powerful, and of his being Lord and God.\*

"I will," he says to Trypho, "endeavour to prove to you from the scriptures, that he who is said to have appeared to Abraham, to Jacob, and to Moses, and who is there called in scripture God, is another from the God who created all things, another I say numerically, not in will; for I affirm that he never did any thing at any time, but what he who created the world; and above whom there is no other God, willed that he should do and say."†

Among other proofs that there is another beside the Supreme God, Justin quotes those passages, where it is said that the Lord shut the door of the ark after Noah had entered in; that the Lord came down to see the city and the tower of Babel; that God went up from Abraham; and that the Lord spake to Moses. "Do not suppose," he then says, "that the unbegotten God either ascended or descended. For the ineffable Father and Lord of all neither comes any where, nor walks, nor sleeps, nor arises; but remains in his own place wherever that be." After describing the greatness, the omniscience, spirituality, and omnipresence of the Supreme God, he proceeds—"How therefore can he either speak to any one, or be seen by any one, or appear in a little portion of the earth; when the people were not able to behold on Sinah even the glory of him who was sent by Him,"‡ &c. Justin therefore, since he who ascended and descended is called God in scripture, thus endeavours to prove, that there is another beside the Supreme God; another, as is evident from his assertions and his arguments, far inferior.

\* See the passages quoted from him by Dr. Priestley and Whitby.

† *Ἐπὶ τὰς γραφὰς πεπιπλῶν, κηρυττομαι πιστει ὑμᾶς, ὅτι οὗτος ὁ τε τῷ Ἀβραάμ, καὶ τῷ Μωϋσῇ οὐρανοῦ λογιζομενος, καὶ γεγραμμενος Θεός, ἴστας ἐστὶ τοῦ τοῦ παντὸς ποιητῆτος Θεοῦ· ἀρίστην λαγὼ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ γινώσκῃ· ὅθεν γὰρ φημι αὐτὸν πεπερικῆναι ποτε, καὶ ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ ὁ τοῦ κόσμου ποιητῆς, ὑπὲρ ὃν ἄλλος οὐκ ἐστὶ Θεός, βούληται καὶ πράξει καὶ ἰμμελῆσαι.* Dial. cum Tryph. p. 276. edit. Paris. p. 252. edit. Thirlb.

‡ —Πῶς αὖτις οὗτος ἡ λαλήσει πρὸς τίνα, καὶ οὐρανοῦ τίνα, καὶ ἐν ἀλαχίστην μέρη· ὅτι φησὶν, ὅπου γε οὐδε τις δεῖται τοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν κηρυττομενος ἐκ χειρὸς ὁ λαὸς ἰδοὺ ἐν Σινᾷ. p. 357 vel p. 410.

Irenæus, in maintaining that all things were made by the Word of God, as the minister of God, quotes the one hundred forty eighth Psalm;—he commanded and they were created. "Whom then," he asks, "did he command? his Word, by which David says the heavens were made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth."\*

"It was a familiar doctrine," says Brucker, "of the Antient Fathers, that the Son was the instrument and minister of the Father in creation, of which instrumental ministry Irenæus so discourses, as to use expressions which can hardly be tolerated; for he says that God had no need of the ministry of angels in the creation of the world, when he had his Son and his spirit ministering to him.' These words seem to imply some subjection and inequality in the sacred trinity."† The passage to which Brucker refers is a different one from that above quoted.

Irenæus has various passages produced by Whitby similar to the following. He is arguing against the Gnostics, who maintained that the God of the Jews was an inferior being and not the Supreme God. "It is one and the same God," he says, "who is announced by the law and the prophets, that Christ confessed to be his Father. He is the Maker, and it is He who is God over all."‡

Christ, by the parable of the father of a family [husband-man], who planted a vineyard, manifestly shewed to his disciples, that it was one and the same father of a family; that is, one God, the Father, who by himself did all things . . . and that it is this same who sometimes sent his servants, and sometimes his son."§

\* —Cui ergo precepit? Verbo scilicet. Adv. Hær. Lib. iii. c. 8.

† Hist. Crit. Philos. Tom. iii. p. 341. Irenæi. Adv. Hær. Lib. iv. c. 17. vel 7 edit. Mass. p. 236.

‡ Unus igitur et idem Deus, qui a lege et prophetis annuntiatus est, quem Christus suum Patrem confensus est; ipse autem est Fabricator, et ipse est qui super omnia est Deus. Adv. Hær. Lib. iv. c. 10.

§ Per quæ ostendit manifestis discipulis suis, unum quidem ac eundem patrem familias, hoc est, unum Deum Patrem, qui per seipsum (at semetipsum) omnia fecit . . . ac eundem hunc patrem familias aliquando quidem mittentem servos, aliquando quidem Filium suum. Adv. Hær. lib. iv. c. 70.

Tertullian, it may be recollected, expressly denies the eternity of the Son's existence as a person. I shall produce but one passage from him in this connexion. He is arguing particularly against those whom he chose to consider as patripassians, and maintaining (like Justin Martyr) that all the appearances of God, mentioned in the Old Testament, are to be referred to the Son. He says that the heretics (that is, the Gnostics, who supposed the god of the Jews different from either the true God or Christ) were ignorant that those things recorded in the Old Testament "were suitable to the character of the Son, who was about to submit to human passions, and hunger, and thirst; and tears, and to be born and to die; and on this account was made by the Father a little lower than the angels. The heretics," he says, "do not think that those things are suitable to the character of the Son of God, which you refer to the Father himself, as if he had made himself lower on our account; when the scripture says that another was made lower by Him, not He by himself. What also, is not he who was crowned with glory and honor different from him who crowned him, the Son from the Father?" He then proceeds to argue, that it cannot be supposed, "that Omnipotent God, the Invisible, whom no man hath seen or can see, who dwells in inaccessible light—walked in paradise seeking Adam, or shut the door of the ark, or cooled himself under the tree with Abraham—&c. These things," he says, "would not be credible concerning the Son of God, if they were not in the scriptures; perhaps they would not be credible concerning the Father if they were; concerning him, whom they [the patripassians] suppose to have descended into the womb of Mary, and place before the tribunal of Pilate, and shut up in the tomb of Joseph. Hence their error appears, for being ignorant that the whole series of divine dispensations has been, from the beginning, conducted by the Son, they believe that the Father himself was seen, and conversed, and worked, and suffered hunger and thirst (contrary to what the Prophet says—*the eternal God neither hungereth nor thirsteth at all*—how much less then can he die or be buried?); and so they believe that one God [or rather THE ONE

God], that is, the Father, did all those things which were done by the Son.”\*

What is quoted above is from the work of Tertullian against Praxeas, in which it was his express purpose to defend what was in his day the orthodox doctrine of the trinity.

Origen, says Whitby, has many arguments to prove, that Christ is not to be worshipped with prayer, which arguments are given by him. In one of the passages of Origen quoted by Dr. Priestley, he says, “that the Saviour and the Holy Spirit are more excelled by the Father, than he and the Holy Spirit excel other things; and that he is by no means [*or in nothing*] to be compared to the Father.”† Huetius, after quoting Origen’s comparison of the generation of the Son from the Father to the emission of rays from the sun, says that “nothing is better adapted to explain Origen’s opinion concerning the trinity; for as much as the sun himself is more noble than the rays emitted from that immense source of light, and superior in dignity, so much did Origen esteem the Father more noble than the Son and superior to him; and has every where spread through his writings this abominable and dangerous heresy.”‡

\* The conclusion of the above passage is as follows:—*ipsum credunt Patrem et visum, et congressum, et operatum, et sitim et esuriam passum, (adversus prophetam dicentem, æternus Deus non ariet, nec esuriet omnino: quanto magis nec morietur nec sepelietur?) et ita unum Deum semper egisse, id est Patrem, quæ per Filium gesta sunt.*”

With regard to the phrase *usum Deum* the following is the remark of Whitby:—

“*Notandum est ex Gatakeri de stylo scripture, unum pro solo frequenter usurpatum esse à scripturis sacris, à Rabbiniis, et ab authoribus profania, cap. 3. p. 31, 32. Quem sensum postulant loca non pauca quæ sub hoc capite adduximus.*” p. 116..

I omit the original of the preceding part of the passage of Tertullian on account of its length, and as I trust there will be no dispute as to its meaning. It may be found in his work *Adv. Praxeas*, cap. 16.

† *Hist. of Earl. Opp. B. ii c. 4.*

‡ *Quam proxime usurpavimus solaris radii comparisonem, cum Origenis de generatione Filii sententiam explicaremus, eadem nunc hic et alias quoque repetitur inferius: nulla enim est ad evolvenda Origenis de trinitate dogmata accommodatio. Quanto igitur radiis ex immenso lucis suæ penu emissis nobilior est sol ipse, et dignitate superior; tanto nobilio-*

With respect to the generation of the Son and the procession of the Holy Spirit, he says "that almost all the Antenicene Fathers equalled or surpassed the impiety or the ignorance of Origen."\* He then proceeds to state that they held that notion of the generation of the Son, which is ascribed to them by Dr. Priestley.

Novatian says that Christ "is properly affirmed to be in the form of God, seeing he is over all, and has obtained divine power over every creature, and is God after the example of the Father, having obtained from his own Father that he should be God and Lord of all, and God after the form of God the Father, begotten and prolated from him. He therefore, though he was in the form of God, did not think of the robbery of being equal with God. For as he remembered that he was God of God the Father, he never compared himself or put himself on a level with God the Father; remembering that he is of his Father, and that what he is, he has, because his Father has given it. Hence before his incarnation, and while he was in the body, and after his resurrection, he paid obedience to the Father in all things, and will equally continue to pay it. Whence it is proved that he never thought of the robbery of divinity, of making himself equal with God; but on the contrary, that obedient and subject to his command and will, he was contented to take upon him the form of a servant."†

rem esse ac superiorem Filio Patrem censuit Origenes, passimque perditam hanc et damnosam scriptis suis affudit hæresim. *Origeniana. Lib. ii. cap. 2. qu. 2. § 7.*

\* At non in iis solum, sed in aliis etiam ad Christi generationem, et Spiritus sancti processionem pertinentibus, et hic quem dico Tertullianus, et alii plerique ex antiquissimis doctoribus et Nicæna synodo anterioribus, Origenis impietatem dicam an imperitiam vel æquarunt vel superarunt. *Ib. § 25.*

† "Et merito in forma pronuntiatus est Dei, dum et ipse super omnia, et omnis creaturæ divinam obtinens potestatem, et Deus est exemplo Patris; hoc ipsum tamen ex Patre proprio consecutus, ut omnium et Deus esset, et Dominus esset, et Deus ad formam Dei Patris ex ipso genitus, atque prolatum. Hic ergo quamvis esset in forma Dei, non est rapinam arbitratus æqualem se Deo esse. Quamvis enim se ex Deo Patre Deum esse meminisset, nunquam se Deo Patri aut comparavit aut contulit, memor se esse ex suo Patre, et hoc ipsum quod est, habere se, quia Pater dedisset.

The above is from a work of Novatian, written expressly to explain and defend the doctrine of the trinity.

These passages, it is to be recollected, are merely specimens. A great number of others equally explicit may be and have been produced from the same writers, and from the other Antenicene Fathers.

The want of orthodoxy in these writers was early perceived, and sometimes complained of, and sometimes excused by their successors, and sometimes attributed to Arian interpolation. Various passages to this purpose are produced by Whitby. Dr. Priestley, in saying that the orthodoxy of Novatian has never been questioned,\* must be understood as meaning, that it never has been questioned that he was among the orthodox of his time. Jerom, about a century after he wrote, called his work on the trinity, a book of heresy. The orthodoxy of Novatian however is defended by Bishop Bull, who brings from him the clearest testimonies, *luculentissima testimonia*, of his correct belief; and gets into no small passion with Petavius, for his intolerable wickedness, in perverting the meaning of such a well disposed writer.† Testimonies equally satisfactory Bishop Bull produces from the other Antenicene Fathers.

With regard then to the notions of the early Fathers respecting the doctrine of the trinity, there are four opinions:

1. That of some of the orthodox, like Bishop Bull and Dr. Horsley; who in opposition to the plainest language, and the most explicit declarations, claim their support in favor of the present orthodox doctrine of the trinity. This is not extraor-

Inde deniq; et ante carnis assumptionem, sed et post assumptionem corporis, post ipsam præterea resurrectionem, omnem Patri in omnibus obedientiam præstitit, pariter et præstat. Ex quo probatur nunquam arbitratum illum esse rapinam quandam Divinitatem, ut æquaret se Deo Patri; quin immo ipsius imperio et voluntati obediens, atq; subjectus; ut formam servi susciperet, contentus fuit." Lib. de regula Fidei, sive de trinitate, c. xixi. p. 176. edit. Jackson.

\* Hist. of Earl. Opp. B. ii. c. 4.

† Profecto minime toleranda est Petavii Jesuitæ in veteres scriptores iniquitas, ita passim sana et catholica illorum dicta, contra manifestam ipsorum mentem et sententiam, in sensus alienos et hæreticos detorquentia. Def. Fid. Niv. sec. ii. cap. 10. § 5.

dinary, as the same persons of course claim the support of the scriptures, and there is certainly nothing in the writings of these Fathers, more plain or explicit, in opposition to their doctrine, than there is in the scriptures.

2. That of others of the orthodox, like Petavius, Huetius, and Brucker, who maintain that these Fathers corrupted the true doctrine, which they had received from the apostles, by the use of Platonic language and the intermixture of Platonic notions.

3. That of the Arians, who maintain that these Fathers held, generally speaking, the true doctrine; and who correctly, in many respects, claim the support of their authority; particularly in regard to the inferiority of the Son to the Father; but who differ from them in other respects, especially in believing the Son to have been created out of nothing.

And 4. That of the unitarians (as they have been distinctively called), or of those who think with Dr. Priestley, who believe that in the doctrine of the trinity, as it was held by the Antenicene Fathers, explained by them in Platonic language, and defended by Platonic arguments, they perceive the commencement of a corruption introduced from the Platonic philosophy, which afterward grew to a more formidable size; but which at first had to contend with the established and universal belief of Christians, the supremacy of ONE GOD.

Which of these opinions is the most probable may be determined in some degree from the preceding statements, in the present and in former numbers, respecting the controversy between Dr. Priestley and his opponents. But whichever of the three last mentioned opinions any one may adopt, I think that if he come to the examination with a tolerable share of fairness of mind, he will leave it with the conviction, that few historical facts can be better established, than THAT THE DOCTRINE OF THE EARLY FATHERS, RESPECTING THE TRINITY, WAS VERY DIFFERENT FROM THE PRESENT ORTHODOX DOCTRINE, AND THAT THEY MAINTAINED A DECIDED AND GREAT INFERIORITY OF THE SON TO THE FATHER.

I have thus gone through with the principal points in the controversy, of which I have undertaken to give an account. I

have sometimes endeavoured to illustrate its subjects by other matter than had been previously adduced. It is perhaps the most important controversy in a religious and literary view, which has engaged the attention of the present age; and it is one whose results have, from very obvious causes, been most grossly misrepresented.

Some statements of inferior importance remain to be made, which will occupy another number.

(To be continued.)

#### ON ISAIAH IX. 6.

*For unto us a child is born; unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder. And his name shall be called WONDERFUL, COUNSELLOR, THE MIGHTY GOD, THE EVERLASTING FATHER, THE PRINCE OF PEACE.*

THE prophecy contained in this verse of Isaiah has been admitted by the generality of Christians to be descriptive of the character of the Messiah. Some indeed, who hold to a double sense of prophecy, make it relate, in its primary sense, to Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, whose history is given 2 Kings xviii. and to the Messiah, in its secondary and spiritual sense. On either supposition, the several titles here enumerated are supposed to consist with the character of Jesus Christ. It is proposed briefly to consider their several imports, and to show in what manner they agree with what we deem to be the true character of our Saviour. The received English version evidently favors the idea of his being God; since some of the titles would seem to be applicable only to the *one living and true God*. But it is believed that from an examination of the original, and a comparison of the ancient versions, such a conclusion will be found to be unauthorised, and that some of the titles, or names of the Messiah, have been wrongly translated. There is little difficulty in understanding the application of the two former epithets—*Wonderful* and *Counsellor*. They are sometimes taken in connexion, and are then rendered a *Wonderful Counsellor*, or *Wonderful in Counsel*. Thus the Targum of Jon-



athan, the version of Theodotion, the Arabic, and several modern versions have rendered it by terms equivalent to—*A Wonderful Counsellor*.

When considered separately, the first is applicable to the Messiah, for the mighty deeds and *wonders* which he was enabled to perform, as proofs of his divine mission.\* And the second for the wisdom and benevolence of his counsels and precepts to mankind—since he was commissioned to publish to them the *counsels* of God, respecting the attainment of immortality and happiness—and since he was in the bosom of the Father, admitted to a knowledge of the secret things concerning the redemption of the world.†

The two following titles are those, which it may be conceived are applicable to Christ, only as he is the Eternal Jehovah. The first our translators have rendered *the Mighty God*, and, by affixing the article *the*, have confined its application to the *one Supreme God*. Had it been rendered *a Mighty God*, or *Mighty God*, (and there is nothing to justify the other rendering,) its application would not have been so restricted; since in the Jewish scriptures the term *god* is applied to angels, judges, magistrates, and prophets.‡ The term then is applied to human beings in consequence of their possessing superior power and authority. Why then should it be thought strange, that this title should be conferred on the Saviour of mankind? If those be called *gods*

\* “Ob summas quæ in eo erant virtutes.” Le Clerc.

† Grotius connects צַדִּיק with the two following terms, and renders the passage by *Consultor of the Mighty God*; (Consultator Dei Fortis,) that is, one who in all his actions looked up to God for aid and counsel. He contends that the original word, צַדִּיק may signify either one who takes or one who gives counsel, as the theme, צַדִּיק is acknowledged to be capable of an active or passive signification. But as צַדִּיק most frequently signifies *one who gives Counsel*, and as this rendering is perfectly consistent with the character of the Messiah, on whom rested the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of Counsel and might, (Isaiah xi. 2.) it is conceived that it ought to be so understood in this place.

‡ See Ps. xvii. 7. lxxxii. 1, 6. cxxxviii. 1. 1 Sam. xxviii. 13. and numerous other places. The word, which in Exod. xxi. 6. xxii. 8, 9. and in other places is rendered ‘judges,’ is the same which is commonly translated ‘God’ or ‘gods,’ as it is in one of the chapters just mentioned:—Exod. xxii. 28.

unto whom the word of God came,\* shall not be; whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world, unto whom was committed authority to execute judgment, unto whom was given a name above every name, and who, in reward of his obedience, was exalted above all principalities and powers, be dignified with this high title? This might be said, and this, we think, would be quite satisfactory, supposing our present translation, 'mighty god,' correct except as regards the insertion of the article, *the*. But this is not all;—we believe ourselves justified in separating the terms *אל, נאב*; (God, Mighty;) making them two distinct titles of the Messiah. This is done in conformity to the ancient versions, excepting the Syriac and Arabic. We learn too from several of them, that by the term *אל* they imagined nothing more was expressed than *great power*, which they accordingly render by a term equivalent to *powerful*, or a *potentate*, that is, one possessed of power, which may be either inherent or delegated. Whether then we take the terms *נאב אל* in connection, and render them a *Mighty God*; that is, agreeably to the Hebrew idiom, *one possessed of power and dominion*, a character acknowledged to belong to the Messiah, to whom was delegated all power in heaven and on earth;—or whether, with the ancient versions, we make them two distinct epithets, and render them by the terms *mighty, a potentate*, (*αρχων δυνατος*) in either case they afford no argument in proof of our Saviour's divinity.

The following title (*אבנ עולם*) is rendered in the received English version *the Everlasting Father*. We have no doubt that this title has contributed to increase the general trinitarian effect of the passage; yet what ideas any trinitarians have affixed to it, when applied to the second person in the trinity, it would be difficult to decide. They certainly cannot apply it in its most obvious sense, for though they hold that the *Son* is *God*, they have never maintained that the *Son* is the *Father*. Yet such, it would seem, was the obvious import of the terms of our translation. But what ideas were attached to our present translation by the authors of it, or how any have considered the

\* See John x. 35. where our Saviour himself condescends to prove to the Jews, the propriety of his assuming the title of *Son of God*.

title of *Everlasting Father*, when applied to the *Son*, a proof of his divinity, it is of little importance to discover, since the correctness of this rendering will not, it is presumed, at the present day be defended. Accordingly the passage has been rendered, by most modern translators, a *Father of the Age*, either with or without some epithet, as 'the future age,' the 'everlasting age,' that is, the chief character in the future dispensation of Christianity. This probably conveys the true sense of the terms, and its correctness is maintained from the peculiar use which is made of the term אב [Father] in the Old Testament, as well as of the corresponding term (πατήρ) in the New. It is used to signify the inventor of an art—a preceptor in any science—as also various other characters, distinguished by superiority of power, or deserving of respect for their eminent services and useful inventions.\* It may here signify then the author of a particular dispensation, or the principal character in it. The term [αἰς] which in the common translation is rendered 'everlasting,' and which we understand as meaning 'the Age,' that is, of Christianity, seems to be used in the same sense as αἰς [age] in Greek; and was accordingly rendered by it, in the passage under consideration, in several of the Greek versions; and by terms of similar import in the Arabic and Vulgate. It signifies, according to Buxtorf, any period of time, definite or indefinite—eternity—an age: We prefer the last of these meanings, and would render the terms אב אֵין, a *Father of the future age*. The propriety of this title when applied to Christ is striking at first view;† since the tenor of the whole New Testament represents him as commissioned by Jehovah, to establish a pure and holy religion on earth: since all power was given him in this new dispensation, by which he became entitled to divine honors, as far as is consistent with a delegated authority: since, in short, he was the constituted medium of salvation between God and man.

\* See Gen. iv. 20. xvii. 4. Judges xvii. 10. Ps. lxxviii. 5. 1 Sam. x. 12. &c.

† I am persuaded, says Lowth, that it is from the authority of this text that the state of the gospel, or the kingdom of the Messiah, is called in the New Testament by the title of *μυλλων αἰων*, the age to come. See Matt. xii. 32. Heb. ii. 5. vi. 5.

The propriety of the last epithet, when applied to our Saviour, needs no illustration. Jesus was eminently the author or *prince of peace* in reconciling man to God: he came to preach *peace* on earth, and to guide our feet in the way of *peace*.

It seems then from a critical examination of the whole passage of Isaiah, that nothing it contains can be brought in proof that Christ is God; except the phrase, which in our translation is rendered, 'the Mighty God;'—but that the prefixing the definite article to this title, which gives it all its force, is wholly without support from the original;—that if it be rendered, as it ought to be, a Mighty God, it will only appear that a title is conferred upon our Saviour, which, according to the use of language in the Old Testament, is conferred upon many others, beside Him whom alone we are accustomed to call God;—but that further the words in the original, which are thus rendered, ought probably to be understood as meaning nothing more than 'Mighty, a Potentate;' that this phrase, therefore affords no proof of the doctrine of which it has been brought in support;—and consequently that no such proof is afforded by the passage in question.\*

## A REPLY TO THE ESSAY "ON THE PHRASE, SON OF GOD;"

WHICH WAS PUBLISHED IN THE LAST NUMBER OF THE  
REPOSITORY.

(*In a letter to the editor.*)

*Dear Sir,*

AS the proper divine Sonship of Christ is a material point in the views which I entertain, I have the more carefully read

\* A different interpretation of this verse has been adopted by many learned Jews and Christians. It applies the several titles of *Wonderful Counsellor*, &c. to God; and that of *Prince of Peace* to the Messiah. The verse is thus rendered agreeably to their interpretation. "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the Wonderful Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father shall call his name the Prince of peace." Not being inclined ourselves to adopt this translation, we have confined our attention to that which, in respect to the general structure of the sentence, we have thought most correct.

and considered what has appeared in the last number of 'the General Repository' 'on the phrase Son of God.' You will therefore indulge me in some brief remarks.

It is very obvious, that 'the Messiah' and 'the Son of God' are names eminently and equally designating the same person, and in this respect *only* can I view them as 'synonymous.' Is there not one reason why our Lord is called 'the Messiah,' and another why he is called 'the Son of God.' Are not both names of great meaning and import? He who bears them is truly 'the anointed;' and, as I apprehend, as truly 'the Son of God.' A confession that he was 'the Messiah,' or that he was 'the Son of God,' was equally a confession that he was the promised Saviour. Yet is it not easy to conceive that a man might confess that he was 'the Messiah,' in the proper import of this name, without confessing that he was 'the Son of God,' in the true and full import of these words? Otherwise would it not be a mere tautology to say, 'thou art Christ the Son of the living God?' Whatever modern Jews may have said, there is in scripture, together with other ancient Jewish writings, sufficient evidence to my mind that the ancient Jews, of best understanding in their scriptures, did believe that the Son of God was to be 'made of the seed of Abraham according to the flesh.' And I apprehend that this is one reason, why Matthew, Mark, and Luke were so silent respecting the preexistence of the Saviour, of whom they wrote. They narrated those things which proved our Lord to be the promised Messiah, and those who well understood the scriptures would of course understand that he was 'the Lord from heaven.' But as some Christians began to deny this before the death of the apostle John, he wrote his Gospel, as I think, more especially to prove the preexistence and divine nativity of our Lord. In his writings more abundantly Jesus is called, not merely *a Son*, but emphatically '*the* Son of God,' 'His only begotten Son,' 'the only begotten of the Father.' Christ is also spoken of as God's 'one Son,' 'His own Son.' Now, supposing my sentiment correct, what stronger language could have been used to convey such an idea? If the same, or very similar language, is in any instances applied to the people of God, yet in all such cases it is sufficiently obvious, that it is

not to be understood literally. And it should also be considered that in such cases no material article of faith is involved. But with evident design to express a most material article of faith, our Lord is called 'the Son of God,' 'His own Son,' 'His only begotten Son.' May we not well suppose that our heavenly Father would have prevented the use of such language, in a case of such scripture importance, if it were not to be understood in its most proper sense? If our Lord be not properly the Son of God, what language could have been more likely to mislead in a material point, than that so abundantly used by the apostle John, even when he was writing for the express purpose of establishing a great point then in dispute? According to the best information I have been able to obtain by much inquiry, a very great proportion of the most exemplary Christians understand the scriptures to mean, that in a sense peculiar to himself, and in the most proper sense of words, our Lord is the Son of God. And if all such Christians have been, and are materially erroneous in so believing, what has misled them but the most emphatical language of inspiration? For from the days of Arius teachers have almost universally intended to give some view of this matter, very different from that, which, after all, common Christians have generally received from the bible.

Who can suppose that the Jews would have accused our Lord of the blasphemy of making himself equal with God, for saying that God was his Father, if they had understood him to mean *only* that he was "*beloved as a Son to a Father?*" And if those Jews mistook our Lord's meaning, why did he not otherwise explain it, instead of vindicating the saying, 'I am the Son of God?' For whatever reasons others may be called Sons of God, they have the title by *gift*, but our Lord has the name 'by *inheritance*.' 'He is made so much better than the angels, as he hath by inheritance a more excellent name than they. For unto which of the angels hath God said—thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee?' Is not this very clear evidence of this peculiar and proper divine Sonship? I feel no difficulty in respect to the 'objection,' which is thought to be 'unanswerable.' In respect to the 'body prepared for him,' our Lord was truly of the house and lineage of David. Being thus truly, although

by miraculous generation, 'the offspring of man,' with great propriety he is often called 'the Son of man.' But should it not be considered that he is never so called in any confession of faith, or in any language used to designate what is of the first importance to be believed. No one is said to have confessed his faith in these words, *Thou art Christ the Son of man.* Nor do we find any such interrogation as this, *Who is he who overcometh the world, but he who believeth that Jesus Christ is the Son of man?*

I was somewhat surprised to find that in respect to the views I entertain, it is, *where it is*, asked, 'But if this scheme be consistent with itself, which is its boast, does it not indeed require that Christ be absolutely and unquestionably equal with God? Is not a son absolutely, entirely, and perfectly, a being of equal nature to his father?' &c. However it may be in every other case of proper sonship, the argument appears to me altogether irrelevant in regard to the proper sonship of our Lord; because it is obvious, that if he is the Son of the living God, his sonship must be in some respects peculiar to himself; and because it is obviously impossible that he should be a proper Son, and yet self-existent and independent like his Father; just as it is impossible that any other son should have had conscious existence as early as his own proper father. And so far as I can see, it would be as good philosophy to say, if Isaac has not had conscious existence as long as Abraham, he is not Abraham's own son, as it is to say, if Christ be not self-existent and independent, he is not properly the Son of God. Although it is the order of nature that every son shall be like his father, it is no less true that it depends on the pleasure and providence of Almighty God, whether any infant son shall ever come to the measure and stature, to the ability and knowledge of his own father. Most certainly then it is not a necessary law of nature, that every son, or that any son, shall be 'absolutely' equal to his father. Whether it be owing to the weakness of my understanding or not, the argument in question appears to me exceedingly unsound and inconclusive.

It seems to me very improper to speak of '*the irrationality*' of those things, about which we know nothing, except by revelation. No. 1. Vol. III.     7

lation, and of things most emphatically declared in the most rational import of divine testimony. How many things which are demonstrated before our eyes would have appeared to us 'irrational' and impossible, if we had only verbal testimony concerning them? To me it appears most rational for creatures of yesterday to yield a cordial assent to the most plain harmonious sense of divine testimony in regard to all declared articles of faith. At least, if at all we express an opinion contrary to the most plain sense of scripture, in such cases, should it not be done with great caution and diffidence, remembering that there is such a thing as to be vainly wise, above what is written? If it had not been literally true, would not the most high God have used some other words in that important case, instead of saying 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him?' And would not our Lord have chosen some other words in which to express the most interesting matter of faith, if it had not been literally true that 'God so loved the world as to give his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life?' These words of our Lord bring to mind another argument, of great weight in my view, in respect to which I have never seen any attempted answer:—It is that gospel representations of divine love in our redemption strongly involve the idea, that Jesus is truly the Son of God. And to take away the natural import of scripture in this case, removes the reality of all that is most affecting in such representations.

Much as Dr. Priestley has labored to prove that it was otherwise, it is to my mind abundantly evident, that the doctrine I hold was taught by the apostles, and generally prevailed among Christians, until about the time of the Arian and Athanasian controversy. This controversy evidently became exceedingly extensive, and more or less engaged the attention of the Bishops throughout Christendom. And yet at that time the preexistence of our Lord appears to have been by all taken for granted. How can this be accounted for, if the doctrine was not received and handed down from the apostles? Belsham argues, as I think, conclusively, that the great alarm excited by the doctrine of Arius is evidential that it was new. There is



equal evidence that the doctrine of Athanasius was also new. Then is not the conclusion unavoidable, that the proper divine Sonship of our Lord had been the true doctrine generally received? For is it not absolutely incredible that it should have been so universally believed, as it appears to have been in the days of Arius, that our Lord existed as the Son of God in some peculiar sense, before all time, if this had not been taught by the apostles? To suppose that Justin Martyr, or any other man or men could so early introduce an anti-apostolic doctrine of such importance, which so soon became the doctrine of the whole church, is, in my view, extremely irrational.

But clear and abundant as the evidence is to my mind that Jesus is the Son of the living God in the most proper sense of language, far be it from me to suppose that 'the wrath of God abideth on all,' who do not see with my eyes in this matter. I have no doubt that many so believe that Jesus is the true Messiah, as to have the promise of salvation, who do not, as I understand the scriptures, believe that he is the Son of God. I cannot however but regret that controversy should be kept alive by philosophical speculations on a point, respecting which probably there never can be an agreement among Christians, otherwise than by allowing the language of inspiration to speak for itself to every man's understanding. This appears to have been the case during the time when Christians were most noted for their love one to another. In those days, notwithstanding all the dreadful persecutions which the Christians endured, yet how surprising was the progress of Christianity! How great compared with any progress it has since made! And until such speculations and animosities, as were introduced by such men as Arius and Athanasius, shall be laid aside, I apprehend that Christianity can never so universally and happily prevail as every good man desires.

Excuse this freedom, and believe  
me to be respectfully yours.

**ON SELF-EXAMINATION.**

**H**E who wishes to be virtuous, or useful, or wise, must seek to know his own character; he who wishes for happiness must both know and have power over himself, without which it is unattainable. That each one is better acquainted with himself than any one else, is probable; that each one can know himself best is certain. But either not being conscious of this power, or wanting disposition to exert it, another's opinion is often mistaken for our own consciousness, and the estimation of our character accommodated to the image reflected from another's mind. The opinions entertained concerning us cannot but affect us, and if we are disposed to consider only or principally what is said or thought that is good, or that alone which is bad, concerning us, distrust of our powers, or a vain estimation of ourselves will be produced. Although then what is said of us may be of some assistance, and what is thought (could we know it) would be of much more, towards estimating ourselves, yet as others are liable to inaccuracy of judgment, as well as ourselves, as they have not the same means of knowing, and even, if they had, as we cannot depend on our judgments of their opinions, or their expressions of opinion, as we have in our full possession the subject of knowledge, and the instruments for examining it, we ought to form our opinion of our character principally from the observations which we can make upon ourselves.

Self-knowledge is to be acquired by honest and habitual examination. We may deceive ourselves as well as others, we may be reserved in our confessions when no ear hears them. There are favorite faults which may escape, from being the companions of our virtues; there are vices to which we may be lenient because they have in them something of refinement and amiableness, and the errors of weakness we may pity rather than condemn; when a good quality, which is congenial to our natural disposition, has grown into a defect, we may be insensible to it; and from various motives by which we are actuated we may select those that are good, and imagine that they are the only ones which influence us, when they would be lost to a closer in-

spection in the crowd of unworthy inclinations. It is not unnecessary then to say that this examination should be honest, or to be impressed with the importance of sincerity and openness in our intercourse with ourselves. Truth, without any of the drapery of prejudice or opinion, must be the test of our actions, and we must reverence our judgment too much to attempt to deceive it, or suffer it to be misled.

It is not only when some unusually strong motives have affected us, when our actions have been of important consequences, and have had much in them to interest us, that we must ask, what manner of spirit we are of? Not alone when we are suffering from recent guilt, for the stain is then fresh, and disgusting, and may cover something better, and we may, it is possible, too much condemn ourselves. Nor only when our hearts are elevated and warmed by an act of uncommon goodness, for it may dazzle us: after we have been looking at the sun we see its image on the cloud. Nor again when we are depressed and gloomy, for melancholy is a fog, which is oppressive and chilling, through which the rays of hope cannot penetrate, which obscures vision, which distorts every object, and magnifies what would be beauty into deformity, darkening the path which we are pursuing, and presenting only a prospect of misery and distress—the fearful monsters of diseased imagination. We then only recollect to condemn. At other times we may behold from the eminence of expectation the fair landscape of futurity, gilded by the rising sun, rich with promises of good that kindles desire and rouses exertion, whose only shades are for calm repose to refresh and invigorate, and which produces delight alloyed only by the regret that we are not already in possession. This is when health has given activity and spirits; or when our cheerfulness is excessive from physical excitement, from much company, from uncommon praises, or the flattering attentions of those whom we love and respect; or when new proofs of the esteem of others make us estimate ourselves more highly, and we adopt the good opinion which we think they express; or when some prosperous event has shed light upon our prospects and discovered new sources of pleasure, or when being relieved from some evil which oppressed us, our steps

totally from the relief.—In such circumstances we shall have too much levity for composed retrospection, or be too complacent for fair examination. When we are so partial to ourselves in our estimation of what is to come, it cannot be expected that we shall judge with correctness of what is past.

There may be seasons of despondence when desperation makes us acquiesce in vice—there may be periods of scepticism when, doubting the danger, we may not fear to err; when the mind cannot discern between good and bad—and amid the tumult of passion no voice can be heard but that which prompts us to indulgence; we may gaze with delight upon the leopard's spots or the adder's skin, and forget the venom and the fang; in the delirium of guilty feelings, the sting of conscience may be unfelt, and we may be unable to judge of our conduct. At such times we should banish thought from our minds, we should seek safety in flight, rather than by combat, we should strive to forget, rather than recollect our feelings, fearing to deepen impressions which may otherwise soon disappear.

There are many who, from the constitution of their minds, are incapable of these vicissitudes who are not liable to the disturbing influence of strong emotions, and there are none who can always remain in such states of mind as have been described. In most persons the passions and feelings are not usually in powerful operation. They rouse themselves and are violent for a season, and then leave the soul harassed by their invasion to recover its exhausted vigour, so that, for the most part, reason may possess her rightful sway, and then is the period favorable to an impartial estimation of one's own character.

This exercise must be habitual: not merely an unfrequent and occasional inquiry into our characters, to which circumstances peculiarly favorable may excite us, but a constant and unremitting attention to every action, and to each whisper of conscience. We should uniformly reflect whether we do what we ought. We should determine what we *will do* by considering the great rules of life, which religion affords, and we should judge of what we *have done* by reference to the same guide. We must search minutely into our own hearts; we must detect the

motive which would conceal itself, and lay open to our inspection the principles by which we are governed.

In all such inquiries, as are now recommended, every man may consider his character in three relations—as intellectual, social, and religious. As to the first, one's intellectual character, as there is nothing which pertains to them about which most men are more anxious, so there is nothing, concerning which, they more often mistake. By some strange inconsistency a double error is common upon this subject. First, the learning or knowledge, which is the result of patient study, or judicious observation, is attributed rather to the possession of faculties, which are not common, to something which is the gift of nature, and is unattainable by those who do not now possess it, than to that labor and mental exertion, which is the real source of all intellectual eminence. The second error is, that a man is praised, not for having the fruits of his assiduity, not for being learned, but for possessing talents. He has the reward of merit for that, which was confessedly beyond his power to obtain, and very often he, who, by some accident, is thought what is called a genius, although he may be a very idle one, is ranked as superior to him, who possesses all that genius can give except the reputation of it. Now these errors are harmless, in so far as this, that a man who obtains knowledge will always obtain praise, though probably this praise will be for being able to acquire rather than for having exercised his powers; yet again it is injurious because some may be satisfied with the reputation of abilities, and content with this, will not make those exertions to which the want of it might otherwise prompt them. But the consequence which is perhaps most to be lamented, and which it is most pertinent to the present purpose to notice, is the discouragement, and wrong estimation of one's own character, which it may produce, and the waste and neglect of talents which may follow from such mistakes. Intellectual excellence is one of the favorite objects of the wishes of most men. It is a desire, that not unfrequently is excessive, and exposes them to vanity, and all its ridiculous consequences. There are those against whom few accusations can be brought, which could not be rendered almost inoffensive, provided the charge was as-

accompanied by any acknowledgement of their intellectual superiority. But this kind of excellence is certainly to be sought after, and valued, since it gives a rank in society, which cannot be obtained so easily without it, and especially because it affords greater facilities for the acquisition of what is morally good. It must therefore be very desirable to all to ascertain the just and proper rank of their minds, how far they are susceptible of cultivation, and how far they are cultivated. This knowledge will preserve those, who desire intellectual excellence only because it gives men rank and reputation, from the mortifications consequent upon inordinate self-estimation, and it will assist those in the use of their understandings, who would improve them as the better part of their nature, and as the means of virtue and happiness. Our intellectual character must then be a worthy and an interesting object of self-examination. When we inquire into it, we must be careful to make the test of it, our own observation—we must be firm enough to resist equally the praises of a friend, and the aspersions of an enemy; for none but ourselves have all the means of judging. We alone know what are the subjects to which our thoughts spontaneously recur; whether our minds are commonly employed upon subjects of permanent interest, and great importance, or whether our mental strength is debilitated from inaction, or suffered to waste itself upon trifles. The books and the society which we prefer, and the truths that are impressed upon our memories by what we have read and heard, the degree of inclination which we feel to obtain knowledge, the patience with which we persevere in pursuit of it, and the pleasure which new acquisitions afford, are some of the circumstances we should regard. To be told that we have ability, must not satisfy us, for we may have been observed only in our most favorable states of mind. We must know, that of the praises we receive, a great part are undeserved, and that there are many, and that we may be of their number, who have enjoyed reputation far beyond their deserts. The expressions of intellectual character are frequently mistaken, because it requires discrimination and good judgment to estimate them correctly. For the same reasons the want of approbation is not to discour-

age us. Timidity or awkwardness, or the very desire of showing that we are not ignorant, may lead us into the most unpleasant mistakes—we may possess all that would command the respect we desire, but be destitute of the power of easily manifesting it to others; we must therefore recur to the experiments which we ourselves have made, if we desire to form a correct estimate of our intellectual character.

It is not so, when we seek to know ourselves as social beings. We alone indeed can know what are our dispositions towards others, but our value as members of society depends not upon the possession, but upon the exercise and expressions of our kind and benevolent affections. It is an important part of our duty, when we regard ourselves in this light, to render ourselves pleasing to others; and so certain is it that if we do this, they will express their satisfaction, that we may consider their manners towards us as a fair index of our own. It is true that it is of the utmost importance that our principles and feelings should be correct, and there is no better mode of ascertaining whether they be so, than by applying to them the rules of religion; for they constitute a part of our religious character. But although if our hearts be pure, and our intentions good, we shall probably avoid injuring those around us, yet something more is necessary to render us as pleasing and as useful as we should wish to be. We are to attend to the prejudices and opinions of our fellow beings, we must yield to them in all actions which are morally indifferent, endeavouring not only to do them good, but to do it pleasantly. Now our success in these exertions must be known from those for whom they are made, and we must wish for the opinions of those who are judicious observers. Nothing can more assist us in these inquiries, than a friend. He that possesses one that is faithful in reproof, and sincere in praise, has greater advantages for judging of his external deportment, than any other circumstances can afford. These remarks apply particularly to our manners; but there are other things to which attention must be paid, from regard to the forms and customs of society, and which may *appear* to be more important. There are donations to be made beside our charities, cares to be assumed which will not benefit us, busi-

ness to be performed which is not our own, and services to be rendered to the community for which there is no compensation. Many objects demand the attention of a public spirited man, whose obligation depends upon opinion, and he must consult the example of others for his guide in what he does concerning them. When therefore we wish to know our social character, as far as it depends upon these circumstances, we must consult that which in this case is the only rule of action.

But the most important object of self-examination has not yet been noticed. It is above all other things interesting to know in what measure our lives are conformed to the will of our heavenly Father, and to the example of our beloved Saviour, whose blessed memory is the light of our world. Do we view the character of God with complacency? are we penitent for our sins? do we aspire after greater virtue than we possess? are our actions influenced by proper motives? are we acquiring such characters as belong to the inhabitants of heaven? are we willing, that our future condition shall be determined by God?—These are questions which are worthy to occupy our minds. They are not to be answered by recurring to any creeds or systems of faith. Virtue does not consist in, or very much depend upon the speculative opinions which we may adopt; for there are but few articles of belief which are requisite to the Christian character, and those are possessed by almost all who call themselves Christians, while controversies and disputes are agitated upon subjects of comparatively little importance. The light which God has given us is sufficient to indicate our duty, and knowing our obligations, we can judge whether we discharge them. The opinions of others will afford us no assistance in forming this judgment, for all virtue has its residence in the heart, and this is a retreat into which no human eye can penetrate. This is the residence of all our principles and motives; it is upon the nature of these that our character depends; and it requires an attentive and discriminating exercise of the understanding to become properly acquainted with them. Nor will it be beneficial to compare ourselves with others, for their thoughts are as inscrutable to us, as our own are to them. They may be good and seem evil, or be evil and seem good. In short, we



can only learn our religious character by examination of our own hearts, and when we reflect upon the great importance and high interest of moral excellence, and the ruin which may follow self-deception upon this subject, we must be convinced that this examination, above all others, is to be performed with the utmost sincerity and fairness.

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## LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

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### EXTRACT FROM GEN. LEE'S MEMOIRS OF THE WAR IN THE SOUTHERN DEPARTMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

[THE feelings, which must exist in the minds of all Americans, from the recollection of the base desertion and treachery of General Arnold from the American service in the year 1780, and of the unhappy death of Major Andre, as well as the merit of the narrative, will, we presume, render the following extract interesting to all our readers. We consider it as worthy of insertion in the Repository also, because it is a new evidence of the earnest wish of the revered Washington, to preserve the life of Andre, and is thus another confirmation of the correctness of his character, in the only transaction in which it has been generally doubted. The extract is from "Lee's memoirs of the war in the southern department,"\* and it will be seen, that the writer was personally engaged in the events, which he here narrates. Our remarks upon the whole work we reserve for a review.]

"LATELY John Champe, sergeant-major of the legion cavalry, who had been for several months considered by the corps as a deserter, returned. This high minded soldier had been selected to undertake a very difficult and perilous project, the narration of which is due to his merit, as well as to the singularity of his progress.

"The treason of brigadier Arnold—the capture of Andre—with intelligence received by Washington, through his confidential agents in New York, communicating that many of his officers, and especially a major general named to him, were connected with Arnold—could not fail to seize the attention of a commander less diligent and zealous. It engrossed his mind entirely, exciting sensations the most anxious as well as unpleasant. The moment he reached the army, then under the

\* Vol. ii. p. 159.

orders of major general Greene, encamped in the vicinity of Tappan, he sent for major Lee, posted with the light troops, some distance in front. This officer repaired to headquarters with celerity, and found the general in his *marqué* alone, busily engaged in writing. As soon as Lee entered, he was requested to take a seat, and a bundle of papers, lying on the table, was given him for perusal. In these much information was detailed, tending to prove that Arnold was not alone in the base conspiracy just detected, but that the poison had spread; and that a major general, whose name was not concealed, was certainly as guilty as Arnold himself. This officer had enjoyed, without interruption, the confidence of the commander in chief throughout the war; nor did there exist a single reason in support of the accusation. It altogether rested upon the intelligence derived from the papers before him. Major Lee, personally acquainted with the accused, could not refrain from suggesting the probability, that the whole was a contrivance of sir Henry Clinton, in order to destroy that confidence between the commander and his officers on which the success of military operations depends. This suggestion, Washington replied, was plausible, and deserved due consideration. It had early occurred to his own mind, and had not been slightly regarded; but his reflections settled in a conclusion not to be shaken; as the same suggestion applied to no officer more forcibly than a few days ago it would have done to general Arnold, known now to be a traitor.

"Announcing this result of his meditations with the tone and countenance of a mind deeply agitated, and resolved upon its course, Lee continued silent, when the general proceeded: 'I have sent for you, in the expectation that you have in your corps individuals capable and willing to undertake an indispensable, delicate, and hazardous project. Whoever comes forward upon this occasion, will lay me under great obligations personally; and in behalf of the United States I will reward him amply. No time is to be lost: he must proceed, if possible, this night. My object is to probe to the bottom the afflicting intelligence contained in the papers you have just read; to seize Arnold, and by getting him to save Andre. They are

all connected. While my emissary is engaged in preparing means for the seizure of Arnold, the guilt of others can be traced; and the timely delivery of Arnold to me will possibly put it into my power to restore the amiable and unfortunate Andre to his friends. My instructions are ready, in which you will find my express orders that Arnold is not to be hurt; but that he be permitted to escape if to be prevented only by killing him, as his public punishment is the only object in view. This you cannot too forcibly press upon whomsoever may engage in the enterprize; and this fail not to do. With my instructions are two letters, to be delivered as ordered, and here are some guineas for expenses.'

"Major Lee replying, said, that he had little or no doubt but his legion contained many individuals daring enough for any operation, however perilous; but that the one in view required a combination of qualities not easily to be found unless in a commissioned officer, to whom he could not venture to propose an enterprize, the first step to which was desertion. That though the sergeant-major of the cavalry was in all respects qualified for the delicate and adventurous project, and to him it might be proposed without indelicacy, as his station did not interpose the obstacle before stated; yet it was very probable that the same difficulty would occur in his breast, to remove which would not be easy, if practicable.

Washington was highly pleased with finding that a non-commissioned officer was deemed capable of executing his views; as he had felt extreme difficulty in authorizing an invitation to officers, who generally are, and always ought to be, scrupulous and nice in adhering to the course of honor. He asked the name, the country, the age, the size, length of service, and character of the sergeant.

Being told his name—that he was a native of Loudon county in Virginia; about twenty-three or twenty-four years of age—that he had enlisted in 1776—rather above the common size—full of bone and muscle—with a saturnine countenance, grave, thoughtful, and taciturn—of tried courage and inflexible perseverance, and as likely to reject an overture coupled with ignominy as any officer in the corps; a commission being the goal

of his long and anxious exertions, and certain on the first vacancy.

"The general exclaimed, that he was the very man for the business; that he must undertake it; and that going to the enemy by the instigation and at the request of his officer was not desertion, although it appeared so: and he enjoined that this explanation, as coming from him, should be pressed on Champe; and that the vast good in prospect should be contrasted with the mere semblance of doing wrong, which he presumed could not fail to conquer every scruple. Major Lee assured the general, that every exertion would be essayed on his part to execute his wishes; and taking leave returned to the camp of the light corps, which he reached about eight o'clock at night. Sending instantly for the sergeant-major, he introduced the business in the way best calculated, as he thought, to produce his concurrence; and dilated largely on the very great obligations he would confer on the commander in chief, whose unchanging and active beneficence to the troops had justly drawn to him their affection, which would be merely nominal, if, when an opportunity should offer to any individual of contributing to the promotion of his views, that opportunity was not zealously embraced. That the one now presented to him never before occurred, and in all probability never would occur again, even should the war continue for ages; it being most rare for three distinct consequences, all of primary weight, to be comprised within a single operation, and that operation necessarily entrusted to one man, who would want but one or two associates in the active part of its execution. That the chance of detection became extremely narrow, and that consequently that of success enlarged. That by succeeding in the safe delivery of Arnold, he not only gratified his general in the most acceptable manner, but he would be hailed as the avenger of the reputation of the army, stained by foul and wicked perfidy; and what could not but be highly pleasing, he would be the instrument of saving the life of major Andre, soon to be brought before a court of inquiry, the decision of which could not be doubted, from the universally known circumstances of the case, and had been anticipated in the general's instructions. That by investigating

with diligence and accuracy the intelligence communicated to him, he would bring to light new guilt, or he would relieve innocence (as was most probable) from distrust; quieting the torturing suspicions, which now harrowed the mind of Washington, and restoring again to his confidence a once honored general, possessing it at present only ostensibly, as well as hush doubts affecting many of his brother soldiers.

"In short, the accomplishment of so much good was in itself too attractive to be renounced by a generous mind; and when connected with the recollection of the high honor which the selection shed upon him, as a soldier he ought not—must not pause. This discourse was followed by a detail of the plan, with a wish that he would enter upon its execution instantly. Champe listened with deep attention, and with a highly excited countenance; the perturbations of his breast not being hid even by his dark visage. He briefly and modestly replied, that no soldier exceeded him in respect and affection for the commander in chief, to serve whom he would willingly lay down his life; and that he was sensible of the honor conferred by the choice of him for the execution of a project all over arduous; nor could he be at a loss to know to whom was to be ascribed the preference bestowed, which he took pleasure in acknowledging, although increasing obligations before great and many.

"That he was charmed with the plan. Even its partial success would lead to great good; as it would give peace to the general's mind, and do justice, as he hoped, to innocence. Full success, added powerful and delicious personal excitements, as well as the gratification of the general and army. He was not, he said, deterred by the danger and difficulty which was evidently to be encountered; but he was deterred by the ignominy of desertion, to be followed by the hypocrisy of enlisting with the enemy; neither of which comported with his feelings, and either placed an insuperable bar in his way of promotion.

"He concluded by observing, if any mode could be contrived free from disgrace, he would cordially embark in the enterprize. As it was, he prayed to be excused; and hoped that services, always the best in his power to perform, faithful-

ly performed, did entitle his prayer to success. The objections at first apprehended, now to be combated, were extended to a consequence which had not suggested itself. Lee candidly admitted that he had expected the first objection made, and that only; which had been imparted to the general, who gave it full consideration, and concluded by declaring, that the crime of desertion was not incurred; as no act done by the soldier at the request of the commander in chief could be considered as desertion; and that an action, so manifestly praiseworthy as that to be performed, when known, would dissipate by its own force the reflections excited by appearance, which no doubt would be acrimonious, leaving the actor in full enjoyment of the future rich rewards of his virtue. That the reflecting mind ought not to balance between the achievement of so much good, and the doing wrong in semblance only: to which major Lee subjoined, that in consequence of the general's call upon him for a soldier capable and willing to execute a project, so tempting to the brave, he considered himself and corps highly honored; and that he should consider himself reduced to a mortifying condition, if the resistance to the undertaking compelled him to inform the general that he must recur to some other corps to provide an agent to execute this necessary and bold enterprize.

"He entreated the sergeant to ask himself what must be the sensations of his comrades, if a soldier from some other corps should execute the enterprize, when they should be told that the glory transferred to the regiment, of which he was one, might have been enjoyed by the legion, had not sergeant Champe shrunk from the overture made to him by his general, rather than reject scruples too narrow and confined to be permitted to interfere with grand and virtuous deeds. The *esprit du corps* could not be resisted, and united to his inclination, it subdued his prejudices, and he declared his willingness to conform to the wishes of the general; relying, as he confidently did, that his reputation would be protected by those who had induced him to undertake the enterprize, should he be unfortunate in the attempt.

"The instructions were read to him, and every distinct object presented plainly to his view, of which he took notes as  
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disguised as to be understood only by himself. He was particularly cautioned to use the utmost circumspection in delivering his letters, and to take care to withhold from the two individuals, addressed under feigned names, knowledge of each other; for although both had long been in the confidence of the general, yet it was not known by one that the other was so engaged.

"He was further urged, to bear in constant recollection the solemn injunction so pointedly expressed in the instructions to major Lee, of forbearing to kill Arnold in any condition of things.

"This part of the business being finished, the major and sergeant's deliberation was turned to the manner of the latter's desertion; for it was well known to both that to pass the numerous patrols of horse and foot crossing from the stationary guards, was itself difficult, which was now rendered more so by parties thrown occasionally beyond the place called Liberty Pole, as well as by swarms of irregulars, induced sometimes to venture down to the very point at Paulus Hook with the hope of picking up booty. Evidently discernible as were the difficulties in the way, no relief could be administered by major Lee, lest it might induce a belief that he was privy to the desertion, which opinion getting to the enemy would involve the life of Champe. The sergeant was left to his own resources and to his own management, with the declared determination, that in case his departure should be discovered before morning, Lee would take care to delay pursuit as long as was practicable.

"Giving to the sergeant three guineas, and presenting his best wishes, he recommended him to start without delay, and enjoined him to communicate his arrival in New York as soon thereafter as might be practicable. Champe pulling out his watch compared it with the major's, reminding the latter of the importance of holding back pursuit, which he was convinced would take place in the course of the night, and which might be fatal; as he knew that he should be obliged to zigzag in order to avoid the patrols, which would consume time. It was now nearly eleven. The sergeant returned to camp, and taking his



cloak, valise, and orderly book, he drew his horse from the picket, and mounting him put himself upon fortune. Lee, charmed with his expeditious consummation of the first part of the enterprize, retired to rest. Useless attempt! The past scene could not be obliterated; and, indeed, had that been practicable, the interruption which ensued would have stopped repose.

"Within half an hour captain Carnes, officer of the day, waited upon the major, and with considerable emotion told him that one of the patrolle had fallen in with a dragoon, who, being challenged, put spur to his horse and escaped, though instantly pursued. Lee complaining of the interruption, and pretending to be extremely fatigued by his ride to and from headquarters, answered as if he did not understand what had been said, which compelled the captain to repeat it. Who can the fellow that was pursued be? inquired the major; adding, a countryman, probably. No, replied the captain, the patrolle sufficiently distinguished him as to know that he was a dragoon; probably one from the army, if not certainly one of our own. This idea was ridiculed from its improbability, as during the whole war but a single dragoon had deserted from the legion. This did not convince Carnes, so much stress was it now the fashion to lay on the desertion of Arnold, and the probable effect of his example. The captain withdrew to examine the squadron of horse, whom he had ordered to assemble in pursuance of established usage on similar occasions. Very quickly he returned, stating that the scoundrel was known, and was no less a person than the sergeant-major, who had gone off with his horse, baggage, arms, and orderly book—so presumed, as neither the one nor the other could be found. Sensibly affected at the supposed baseness of a soldier extremely respected, the captain added that he had ordered a party to make ready for pursuit, and begged the major's written orders.

"Occasionally this discourse was interrupted, and every idea suggested which the excellent character of the sergeant warranted, to induce the suspicion that he had not deserted, but had taken the liberty to leave camp with a view to personal pleasure; an example, said Lee, too often set by the officers

themselves, destructive as it was, of discipline, opposed as it was to orders, and disastrous as it might prove to corps in the course of service,

"Some little delay was thus interposed; but it being now announced that the pursuing party was ready, major Lee directed a change in the officer, saying that he had a particular service in view, which he had determined to entrust to the lieutenant ready for duty, and which probably must be performed in the morning. He therefore directed him to summon cornet Middleton for the present command. Lee was induced thus to act, first to add to the delay, and next from his knowledge of the tenderness of Middleton's disposition, which he hoped would lead to the protection of Champe, should he be taken. Within ten minutes Middleton appeared to receive his orders, which were delivered to him, made out in the customary form, and signed by the major. 'Pursue, so far as you can with safety, sergeant Champe, who is suspected of deserting to the enemy, and has taken the road leading to Paulus Hook. Bring him alive, that he may suffer in the presence of the army; but kill him if he resists, or escapes after being taken.'

"Detaining the cornet a few minutes longer in advising him what course to pursue—urging him to take care of the horse and accoutrements, if recovered—and enjoining him to be on his guard, lest he might, by his eager pursuit, improvidently fall into the hands of the enemy—the major dismissed Middleton, wishing him success. A shower of rain fell soon after Champe's departure, which enabled the pursuing dragoons to take the trail of his horse; knowing, as officer and trooper did, the make of their shoes, whose impression was an unerring guide.\*

"When Middleton departed, it was a few minutes past twelve; so that Champe had only the start of rather more than an hour—by no means as long as was desired. Lee became very unhappy, not only because the estimable and gallant Champe

\* "The horses being all shod by our own farriers, the shoes were made in the same form; which, with a private mark annexed to the fore shoes, and known to the troopers, pointed out the trail of our dragoons to each other, which was often very useful."

might be injured, but lest the enterprise might be delayed; and he spent a sleepless night. The pursuing party during the night, was, on their part, delayed by the necessary halts to examine occasionally the road, as the impression of the horse's shoes directed their course; this was unfortunately too evident, no other horse having passed along the road since the shower. When the day broke, Middleton was no longer forced to halt, and he pressed on with rapidity. Ascending an eminence before he reached the Three Pidgeons, some miles on the north of the village of Bergen, as the pursuing party reached its summit, Champe was descried not more than half a mile in front. Resembling an Indian in his vigilance, the sergeant at the same moment discovered the party, (whose object he was no stranger to,) and giving spur to his horse, he determined to outstrip his pursuers. Middleton at the same instant put his horses to the top of their speed; and being (as the legion all were) well acquainted with the country, he recollected a short route through the woods to the bridge below Bergen, which diverged from the great road just after you gain the Three Pidgeons. Reaching the point of separation, he halted; and dividing his party, directed a sergeant with a few dragoons to take the near cut, and possess with all possible despatch the bridge, while he with the residue followed Champe; not doubting but that Champe must deliver himself up, as he would be closed between himself and his sergeant. Champe did not forget the short cut, and would have taken it himself, but he knew it was the usual route of our parties when returning in the day from the neighborhood of the enemy, properly preferring the woods to the road. He consequently avoided it; and persuaded that Middleton would avail himself of it, wisely resolved to relinquish his intention of getting to Paulus Hook, and to seek refuge from two British galleys, lying a few miles to the west of Bergen.

"This was a station always occupied by one or two galleys, and which it was known now lay there. Entering the village of Bergen, Champe turned to his right, and disguising his change of course as much as he could by taking the beaten streets, turning as they turned, he passed through the village

and took the road towards Elizabethtown Point. Middleton's sergeant gained the bridge, where he concealed himself, ready to pounce upon Champe when he came up; and Middleton, pursuing his course through Bergen, soon got also to the bridge, when, to his extreme mortification, he found that the sergeant had slipped through his fingers. Returning up the road, he inquired of the villagers of Bergen, whether a dragoon had been seen that morning preceding his party. He was answered in the affirmative, but could learn nothing satisfactorily as to the route he took. While engaged in inquiries himself, he spread his party through the village to strike the trail of Champe's horse, a resort always resorted to. Some of his dragoons hit it just as the sergeant, leaving the village, got in the road to the point. Pursuit was renewed with vigor, and again Champe was descried. He, apprehending the event, had prepared himself for it, by lashing his valise (containing his clothes and orderly book) on his shoulders, and holding his drawn sword in his hand, having thrown away its scabbard. This he did to save what was indispensable to him, and to prevent any interruption to his swimming by the scabbard, should Middleton, as he presumed, when disappointed at the bridge, take the measures adopted by him. The pursuit was rapid and close, as the stop occasioned by the sergeant's preparations for swimming had brought Middleton within two or three hundred yards. As soon as Champe got abreast of the galleys, he dismounted; and running through the marsh to the river, plunged into it, calling upon the galleys for help. This was readily given; they fired upon our horse, and sent a boat to meet Champe, who was taken in and carried on board, and conveyed to New York with a letter from the captain of the galley, stating the past scene, all of which he had seen.

"The horse with his equipments, the sergeant's cloak and sword scabbard, were recovered; the sword itself, being held by Champe until he plunged into the river, was lost, as Middleton found it necessary to retire without searching for it.

"About three o'clock in the evening our party returned, and the soldiers, seeing the horse (well known to them) in our pos-

session, made the air resound with exclamations that the scoundrel was killed.

"Major Lee, called by this heart-rending annunciation from his tent, saw the sergeant's horse led by one of Middleton's dragoons, and began to reproach himself with the blood of the high-prized, faithful, and intrepid Champe. Stifling his agony, he advanced to meet Middleton, and became somewhat relieved as soon as he got near enough to discern the countenance of his officer and party. There was evidence in their looks of disappointment, and he was quickly relieved by Middleton's information that the sergeant had effected his escape with the loss of his horse, and narrated the particulars just recited.

"Lee's joy was now as full as, the moment before, his torture had been excruciating. Never was a happier conclusion. The sergeant escaped unhurt, carrying with him to the enemy undeniable testimony of the sincerity of his desertion—cancelling every apprehension before entertained, lest the enemy might suspect him of being what he really was.

"Major Lee imparted to the commander in chief the occurrence, who was sensibly affected by the hair-breadth escape of Champe, and anticipated with pleasure the good effect sure to follow the enemy's knowledge of its manner.

"On the fourth day after Champe's departure, Lee received a letter from him, written the day before in a disguised hand, without any signature, and stating what had passed after he got on board the galley, where he was kindly received.

"He was carried to the commandant of New York as soon as he arrived, and presented the letter addressed to this officer from the captain of the galley. Being asked to what corps he belonged, and a few other common questions, he was sent under care of an orderly sergeant to the adjutant-general, who, finding that he was sergeant-major of the legion horse, heretofore remarkable for their fidelity, he began to interrogate him. He was told by Champe, that such was the spirit of defection which prevailed among the American troops in consequence of Arnold's example, that he had no doubt, if the temper was properly cherished, Washington's ranks would not only be greatly thinned, but that some of his best corps would leave

him. To this conclusion, the sergeant said, he was led by his own observations, and especially by his knowledge of the discontent which agitated the corps to which he had belonged. His size, place of birth, his form, countenance, color of his hair, the corps in which he had served, with other remarks, in conformity to the British usage, was noted in a large folio book. After this was finished, he was sent to the commander in chief, in charge of one of the staff, with a letter from the adjutant-general. Sir Henry Clinton treated him very kindly, and detained him more than one hour, asking him many questions, all leading—first, to know to what extent this spirit of defection might be pushed by proper incitements—what the most operating incitements—whether any general officers were suspected by Washington as concerned in Arnold's conspiracy, or any other officers of note;—who they were, and whether the troops approved or censured Washington's suspicions;—whether his popularity in the army was sinking, or continued stationary. What was major Andre's situation—whether any change had taken place in the manner of his confinement—what was the current opinion of his probable fate—and whether it was thought Washington would treat him as a spy. To these various interrogations, some of which were perplexing, Champe answered warily; exciting, nevertheless, hopes that the adoption of proper measures to encourage desertion (of which he could not pretend to form an opinion) would certainly bring off hundreds of the American soldiers, including some of the best troops, horse as well as foot. Respecting the fate of Andre, he said he was ignorant, though there appeared to be a general wish in the army that his life should not be taken; and that he believed it would depend more upon the disposition of Congress, than on the will of Washington.

"After this long conversation ended, sir Henry presented Champe with a couple of guineas, and recommended him to wait upon general Arnold, who was engaged in raising an American legion in the service of his majesty. He directed one of his aids to write to Arnold by Champe, stating who he was, and what he had said about the disposition in the army to follow his example; which very soon done, it was given to the or-

dearly attending on Champe to be presented with the deserter to general Arnold. Arnold expressed much satisfaction on hearing from Champe the manner of his escape, and the effect of Arnold's example; and concluded his numerous inquiries by assigning quarters to the sergeant—the same as were occupied by his recruiting sergeants.

“He also proposed to Champe to join his legion, telling him he would give to him the same station he had held in the rebel service, and promising further advancement when merited. Expressing his wish to retire from war, and his conviction of the certainty of being hung if ever taken by the rebels, he begged to be excused from enlistment; assuring the general, that, should he change his mind, he would certainly accept his offer. Retiring to the assigned quarters, Champe now turned his attention to the delivery of his letters, which he could not effect until the next night, and then only to one of the two incognita to whom he was recommended. This man received the sergeant with extreme attention, and having read the letter, assured Champe that he might rely on his faithful co-operation in doing every thing in his power consistent with his safety, to guard which required the utmost prudence and circumspection. The sole object in which the aid of this individual was required, regarded the general and others of our army, implicated in the information sent to Washington by him. To this object Champe urged his attention; assuring him of the solicitude it had excited, and telling him that its speedy investigation had induced the general to send him into New York. Promising to enter upon it with zeal, and engaging to send out Champe's letters to major Lee, he fixed the time and place for their next meeting, when they separated.

“Lee made known to the general what had been transmitted to him by Champe, and received, in answer, directions to press Champe to the expeditious conclusion of his mission; as the fate of Andre would be soon decided, when little or no delay could be admitted in executing whatever sentence the court might decree. The same messenger, who brought Champe's letter, returned with the ordered communication. Five days had nearly elapsed, after reaching New York, before Champe

saw the confidant to whom only the attempt against Arnold was to be entrusted. This person entered with promptitude into the design, promising his cordial assistance. To procure a proper associate to Champe was the first object, and this he promised to do with all possible despatch. Furnishing a conveyance to Lee, we again heard from Champe, who stated what I have related, with the additional intelligence that he had that morning (the last of September) been appointed one of Arnold's recruiting sergeants, having enlisted the day before with Arnold; and that he was induced to take this afflicting step, for the purpose of securing uninterrupted ingress and egress to the house which the general occupied; it being indispensable to a speedy conclusion of the difficult enterprize which the information he had just received had so forcibly urged. He added, that the difficulties in his way were numerous and stubborn, and that his prospect of success was by no means cheering. With respect to the additional treason, he asserted that he had every reason to believe that it was groundless; that the report took its rise in the enemy's camp, and that he hoped soon to clear up that matter satisfactorily. The pleasure which the last part of this communication afforded, was damped by the tidings it imparted respecting Arnold, as on his speedy delivery depended Andre's relief. The interposition of sir Henry Clinton, who was extremely anxious to save his much loved aid-de-camp, still continued; and it was expected the examination of witnesses and the defence of the prisoner, would protract the decision of the court of inquiry, now assembled, and give sufficient time for the consummation of the project committed to Champe. A complete disappointment took place from a quarter unforeseen and unexpected. The honorable and accomplished Andre, knowing his guilt, disdained defence, and prevented the examination of witnesses by confessing the character in which he stood. On the next day (the 2d of October) the court again assembled; when every doubt that could possibly arise in the case having been removed by the previous confession, Andre was declared to be a spy, and condemned to suffer accordingly.

"The sentence was executed on the subsequent day in the



usual form, the commander in chief deeming it improper to interpose any delay. In this decision he was warranted by the very unpromising intelligence received from Champe—by the still existing implication of other officers in Arnold's conspiracy—by a due regard to public opinion—and by real tenderness to the condemned.

"Neither Congress nor the nation could have been with propriety informed of the cause of the delay, and without such information it must have excited in both alarm and suspicion. Andre himself could not have been entrusted with the secret, and would consequently have attributed the unlooked for event to the expostulation and exertion of Sir Henry Clinton, which would not fail to produce in his breast expectations of ultimate relief; to excite which would have been cruel, as the realization of such expectation depended upon a possible but improbable contingency. The fate of Andre, hastened by himself, deprived the enterprize committed to Champe of a feature which had been highly prized by its projector, and which had very much engaged the heart of the individual chosen to execute it.

"Washington ordered major Lee to communicate what had passed to the sergeant, with directions to encourage him to prosecute with unrelaxed vigor the remaining objects of his instructions, but to intermit haste in the execution only as far as was compatible with final success.

"This was accordingly done by the first opportunity, in the manner directed. Champe deplored the sad necessity which occurred, and candidly confessed that the hope of enabling Washington to save the life of Andre, (who had been the subject of universal commiseration in the American camp,) greatly contributed to remove the serious difficulties which opposed his acceding to the proposition when first propounded. Some documents accompanied this communication, tending to prove the innocence of the accused general; they were completely satisfactory, and did credit to the discrimination, zeal, and diligence of the sergeant. Lee inclosed them immediately to the commander in chief, who was pleased to express the satisfaction he derived from the information, and to order the major to wait upon him the next day; when the whole subject was re-exam-

ined, and the distrust heretofore entertained of the accused was forever dismissed.\* Nothing now remained to be done, but the seizure and safe delivery of Arnold. To this object Champe gave his undivided attention; and on the 19th of October, major Lee received from him a very particular account of the progress he had made, with the outlines of his plan. This was, without delay, submitted to Washington; with a request for a few additional guineas. The general's letter,† written on

\* "Copy of a letter from general Washington to major Lee, in his own handwriting.

"October 13, 1780.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am very glad your letter, of this date, has given strength to my conviction of the innocence of the gentleman who was the subject of your inquiry.

"I want to see you on a particular piece of business. If the day is fair, and nothing of consequence intervenes, I will be at the marquis's quarters by ten o'clock to-morrow. If this should not happen, I shall be glad to see you at headquarters.

"I am, dear sir, your obedient servant,

"G. WASHINGTON."

† "Copy of a letter from general Washington to major Lee, in his own handwriting.

"Headquarters, October 20, 1780.

"DEAR SIR,

"The plan proposed for taking A——d (the outlines of which are communicated in your letter, which was this moment put into my hands without date) has every mark of a good one. I therefore agree to the promised rewards; and have such entire confidence in your management of the business, as to give it my fullest approbation; and leave the whole to the guidance of your own judgment, with this express stipulation and pointed injunction, that he (A——d) is brought to me alive.

"No circumstance whatever shall obtain my consent to his being put to death. The idea which would accompany such an event would be, that ruffians had been hired to assassinate him. My aim is to make a public example of him: and this should be strongly impressed upon those who are employed to bring him off. The sergeant must be very circumspect;—too much zeal may create suspicion—and too much precipitancy may defeat the project. The most inviolable secrecy must be observed on all hands. I send you five guineas; but I am not satisfied of the propriety of the sergeant's appearing with much specie. This circumstance may also lead to suspicion, as it is but too well known to the enemy that we do not abound in this article.

"The interviews between the party-in and out of the city, should be

the same day, (30th October) evinces his attention to the minutiae of business, as well as his immutable determination to possess Arnold alive, or not at all. This was his original injunction, which he never omitted to enforce upon every proper occasion.

"Major Lee had an opportunity in the course of the week of writing to Champe, when he told him that the rewards which he had promised to his associates would be certainly paid on the delivery of Arnold; and in the mean time, small sums of money would be furnished for casual expenses, it being deemed improper that he should appear with much, lest it might lead to suspicion and detection. That five guineas were now sent, and that more would follow when absolutely necessary.

"Ten days elapsed before Champe brought his measures to conclusion, when Lee received from him his final communication, appointing the third subsequent night for a party of dragoons to meet him at Hoboken, when he hoped to deliver Arnold to the officer. Champe had, from his enlistment into the American legion (Arnold's corps) every opportunity he could wish, to attend to the habits of the general. He discovered that it was his custom to return home about twelve every night, and that previous to going to bed he always visited the garden. During this visit the conspirators were to seize him, and being prepared with a gag, intended to have applied the same instantly.

"Adjoining the house in which Arnold resided, and in which it was designed to seize and gag him, Champe had taken off several of the palings and replaced them, so that with care and without noise he could readily open his way to the adjoining alley. Into this alley he meant to have conveyed his prisoner, aided by his companion, one of the two associates who had been introduced by the friend to whom Champe had been ori-

managed with much caution and seeming indifference; or else the frequency of their meetings, &c. may betray the design, and involve bad consequences; but I am persuaded you will place every matter in a proper point of view to the conductors of this interesting business, and therefore I shall only add, that

"I am, dear sir, &c. &c.

"G. WASHINGTON."

ginally made known by the letter from the commander in chief, and with whose aid and counsel he had so far conducted the enterprize. His other associate was with the boat prepared at one of the wharves on the Hudson river, to receive the party.

"Champe and his friend intended to have placed themselves each under Arnold's shoulder, and to have thus borne him through the most unfrequented alleys and streets to the boat; representing Arnold, in case of being questioned, as a drunken soldier, whom they were conveying to the guard-house.

"When arrived at the boat the difficulties would be all surmounted, there being no danger nor obstacle in passing to the Jersey shore. These particulars as soon as known to Lee, were communicated to the commander in chief, who was highly gratified with the much desired intelligence. He directed major Lee to meet Champe, and to take care that Arnold should not be hurt. The day arrived, and Lee with a party of dragoons left camp late in the evening, with three led accoutred horses; one for Arnold, one for the sergeant, and the third for his associate, never doubting the success of the enterprize, from the tenor of the last received communication. The party reached Hoboken about midnight, where they were concealed in the adjoining wood—Lee with three dragoons stationing himself near the river shore. Hour after hour passed—no boat approached. At length the day broke and the major retired to his party, and with his led horses returned to camp, when he proceeded to headquarters to inform the general of the much lamented disappointment, as mortifying, as inexplicable. Washington having perused Champe's plan and communication, had indulged the presumption that at length the object of his keen and constant pursuit was sure of execution, and did not dissemble the joy such conviction produced. He was chagrined at the issue, and apprehended that his faithful sergeant must have been detected in the last scene of his tedious and difficult enterprize.

"In a few days, Lee received an anonymous letter from Champe's patron and friend, informing him that on the day preceding the night fixed for the execution of the plot, Arnold had removed his quarters to another part of the town, to super-

intend the embarkation of troops, preparing (as was rumored) for an expedition to be directed by himself; and that the American legion, consisting chiefly of American deserters, had been transferred from their barracks to one of the transports; it being apprehended that if left on shore until the expedition was ready, many of them might desert. Thus it happened that John Champe, instead of crossing the Hudson that night, was safely deposited on board one of the fleet of transports, from whence he never departed until the troops under Arnold landed in Virginia! Nor was he able to escape from the British army until after the junction of lord Cornwallis at Petersburg, when he deserted; and proceeding high up into Virginia he passed into North Carolina near the Saura towns; and keeping in the friendly districts of that state, safely joined the army soon after it had passed the Congaree in pursuit of lord Rawdon.

"His appearance excited extreme surprise among his former comrades, which was not a little increased when they saw the sordid reception he met with from the late major now lieutenant colonel Lee. His whole story soon became known to the corps, which reproduced the love and respect of officer and soldier (heretofore invariably entertained for the sergeant), heightened by universal admiration of his late daring and arduous attempt.

"Champe was introduced to general Greene, who very cheerfully complied with the promises made by the commander in chief, as far as in his power; and having provided the sergeant with a good horse and money for his journey, sent him to general Washington, who munificently anticipated every desire of the sergeant, and presented him with his discharge from further service,\* lest he might, in the vicissitudes of war, fall into the enemy's hands; when, if recognized he was sure to die on a gibbet."

\* "When general Washington was called by president Adams to the command of the army, prepared to defend the country from French hostility, he sent to lieutenant colonel Lee to inquire for Champe; being determined to bring him into the field at the head of a company of infantry.

"Lee sent to Loudon county, where Champe settled after his discharge from the army; when he learned that the gallant soldier had removed to Kentucky, where he soon after died."

## ON THE LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE OF MODERN GREECE.

AMONG the innumerable subjects of interest to scholars, are those, upon which we would now make a few remarks, the literature and language of modern Greece. To trace in any modern tongue the relics of an ancient one, and to notice these relics among all the revolutions of corruption and improvement, which languages undergo, in the progress of time, is as interesting to literary curiosity as it is useful in philology. When we find, as we do in most modern languages, the definite and certain remains of those long since dead, it is often with some such pleasure as we feel in meeting a friend, where we did not expect him. But if, instead of these traces, we could find an ancient language, in any good degree remaining entire, it would be like recovering one whom we thought to be dead. Of all the ancient languages but two, these scattered remains, which it generally falls to the etymologist to discover and investigate, are the whole which continues extant in common use. Some of them indeed, which were once the mediums of intercourse to nations, and the repositories of long accumulated learning, have utterly perished, without leaving a vestige, which can be recognized. Others, as the radical dialects of the north and east, proceeding as they did from the opposite corners of the world, have met and united in modern Europe, and form the foundation of the languages, which are now spoken there. But the fate of two of the ancient tongues may be considered as an exception to this common lot. These are the Hebrew and the Greek. These, while like others they have done their share towards the formation of the modern tongues, may be considered as never having properly ceased to be living languages. For though the genuine Hebrew has not been vulgarly spoken for twenty four centuries, yet it even now exists in great corruption indeed, in the Rabbinical dialect. The causes, which have led to the corruption of a language, which one would have thought would have been preserved in inviolate purity, and which, from the peculiar fate of the Jewish nation, perhaps might have been

so preserved, it is not our purpose to inquire. The infamous reverence with which the Talmuds have been regarded, is doubtless a great cause of the preservation, in what may be called common use, of that corrupted Hebrew, in which they are written. However this be, we cannot as Christians but feel some interest in a dialect, which substantially retains the character and so much of the integrity of the language of the Bible. In the modern Greek, we feel a different, but perhaps as lively an interest. It affects us by those associations, which must naturally be attached to a language so like that, in which Homer wrote, and Socrates conversed. Besides, the modern Greek is much less corrupt than the Rabbinical Hebrew: and we think that could Plato and Demosthenes revisit their native land, they would hold a far more intelligible intercourse with their unfortunate posterity, than would Moses or David. For the difference between ancient and modern Greek, is not perhaps much greater than between the Attic and the Doric dialects of the former; and the scholar, who had read nothing but Demosthenes, would find as little difficulty in proceeding to the church history of Meletius, as to the pastorals of Theocritus. The misfortune is, that while the varieties of the ancient dialects are considered only as varieties, the diversities between the modern and the ancient Greek are, alas, all corruptions. Yet with all these corruptions, and the regret with which we contemplate them, who can take up with indifference a volume, which salutes his eye with the Greek character; and read in it without satisfaction, a language, which he understands through the sole medium of the classical Greek, and consider moreover that this language is spoken among the scenes, which are consecrated to Minerva and her people? But though our feelings may be indulged a little in reflecting on Greek and Grecians, our present business is to dwell upon facts.

Of the corruptions then, which may be noticed in the modern Greek, the first is the introduction of barbarous words. Though Greece, as it never was settled by the different nations which overran it, has avoided that total obliteration of its ancient tongue which has taken place among the nations of Europe, it has

not escaped this corruption. The Goths, the Vandals, and the Turks, though they left to the conquered Greeks the possession of their soil, left among them also many barbarous words, as trophies of their victory. But the principal source, whence foreign words have flowed in, is their commercial intercourse with other nations. They have borrowed many words from the Turks among them and on their left, from the Italians on their right, and the Russians in their rear, with all of whom they have had continual intercourse. The other principal corruption is the introduction of particles, from the analogy of modern languages, which, though they have not wholly, have partly superseded the use of the terminations of the nouns and verbs. This, as we just said, they caught from the contagion of modern languages; and it is the corruption, which, if any attempt should be made to recover the ancient purity of their speech, would be the hardest to be remedied; because, though barbarous words may easily be dropped, it will require a greater effort to reform a perversion in the structure of the language.

These are the principal corruptions, and it is obvious that they do not fix an impassable barrier to the reviving the integrity of the Greek. The language of life, the names of common objects and obvious ideas, is mainly unaltered:—because this language admits of little vicissitude, and as it has never been dis-used, it has never been lost. Chateaubriand tells us, that as he and his companion were going to visit the ruins of Athens, the Greek labourers, as they passed, stretched their hands above their heads, and saluted them with—“Καλὸς ἤλθτε, ἀρχόντες βεῖν παλὰς τοὺς παλαιὸς Ἀθῆνας,”\* and they looked as proud, says he, as if they said to us, ‘you are going to Phidias and Ictinus.’ Lord Byron gives us a Greek war-song, which was written about forty years ago, by the famous Riga, who perished in the attempt to revolutionize Greece. It begins with a couplet, in which Isocrates would find nothing to correct;—

Δεῖτε, καὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων,

Ὁ καῖρος τῆς δόξης ἦλθεν.†

\* Welcome, gentlemen, may you have a pleasant journey to old Athens.

† Come! sons of the Greeks,—

The time of glory has arrived!



If the language of common ideas has been thus admirably preserved; the language of abstract ideas, of philosophy, science, and sentiment, may be recovered for a different reason: viz. that it has been disused from the time that the most active causes of corruption began to operate; and has not undergone any great changes, from the moral debasement of the Greeks. Now if we consider what changes the English and French languages have passed through, within four centuries, we shall the more readily allow that there is nothing, in the present state of the modern Greek (or Romaic, as it is commonly called) which removes the possibility of bringing it back to the purity of the ancient. The process indeed of carrying it back, would be an operation just the reverse of what has taken place in the gradual improvement of modern languages, but it would be a far easier operation, because the classical Greek models remain to guide it and rectify it.

There is indeed an objection to the possibility of recovering the ancient Greek, which is not without apparent force. It is this: "the vulgar Greek of the present day, with all its corruptions, is known only to scholars, while the mass of the people speak a motley jargon, as far removed from the proper Romaic, as that is from the authentic Greek." This account, as will presently appear, is a little exaggerated; as we might also collect from the specimens already given, and many similar ones to be found in the journals of the travellers. But allowing it to be substantially correct, that such a difference exists between the language of the populace and the well educated, it is no more than you may say, of almost every nation in Europe. How good may we suppose is the French of a mob in Paris, or the Italian of the Lazaroni in Naples, or the English of the miners of Cornwall? The diversity between the cases is, that in Greece the number of those, who are well educated, is very small;—not enough to renovate the language, by the intercourse of society. You have only to multiply the means of education, or, as things are, to estimate the state of the language from those, who are educated in its best purity, and the objection vanishes.

We must however confess, that though the distance between

the colloquial dialect of the common people and the language of the learned is not greater, than between the vulgar and classical dialects of any other nation, it is a more systematic difference. It has been observed, by those best acquainted with the subject, and particularly by Du Cange in the preface to his *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Græcitatæ*, that there are to be reckoned three dialects, if they may be so called, which prevail in modern Greece. The true classical Greek may be considered to be the *first*. It is perfectly understood by all persons of education, is employed in the service of the church, and may be considered as holding the same place in respect to the eastern scholars, which Latin did in respect to the western in the sixteenth century. The Edinburgh Review speaks of a letter written to Crusius, by a native of Greece, in the sixteenth century, in which it is said, that, in the different provinces, the Doric, the Ionic, and the Æolic dialects yet prevailed, and that, in most, the common dialect is still in use. We shall give a pleasing specimen of the use of this hereafter. The *second* is the ecclesiastical dialect, used in the writings of the monks, and the sermons of the clergy. It is intermixed with foreign words, though it preserves in considerable purity the structure of the language of ancient Greece. The *third* is the proper Romaic, which is chequered with words of all tongues, and deformed with auxiliary particles. It is the dialect of commercial intercourse, and of the common people. A specimen of the best sort of it is the translation of the New Testament into the vulgar Greek.

There has been much written, for instance by Eton and Sonnini, to encourage the attempt of regenerating the modern Greeks and their language. Whether it be a probable event, we do not inquire. As to their language, we have already expressed an opinion, that there is nothing, in its present state, which precludes the possibility of restoring it to its primitive purity; for the same reason, and by the same means, that you might reform the provincial barbarisms of an inland county of England. That the language however could be thus restored, without restoring liberty and perhaps independence to those who are to speak it, may be doubted. It was among the

plans, at least the professed ones, of Catherine II. to do both. Though her real object was more probably to harass and weaken the Turkish power, she professed a great sympathy with the degraded Greeks, and laid out her measures to bring them back to their primitive glory. She proposed to erect them into an independent power, and to compliment them with being governed by a Russian prince. Accordingly she surrounded the grand duke Constantine, whom she intended for their sovereign, (the brother of the present emperor Alexander, and heir apparent of the Russian throne) with Grecian nurses. The princely child was taught to lisp his infant wants, in the dialect in which it was meant he should one day proclaim his laws, and it is said that he now speaks, with equal purity, his native Russ and the modern Greek. In pursuance of the same design, prince Potemkin established, at St. Petersburg, a *corps de cadets* for the education of young Greeks, where they were taught the ancient Greek, together with their native dialects, at the same time that they were disciplined in the usual exercises of a military academy. This academy was suppressed by Paul, and has not been revived by his successor. Indeed we cannot wonder that the empress Catherine should have taken an interest in the restoration of the Grecians, if the following anecdote of one of her officers be correct. It is found in Tooke's history of this empress, vol. I. p. 346, and seems to prove that there exists, among them, an acquaintance with the ancient language, which we can hardly credit. Capt. Ployart (who commanded one of the ships, which were sent by the Russians against the Turks in 1769, and who has since been an admiral in the Danish fleet) going on shore at Naxos, the largest of the Cyclades, took with him a Homer, an old school book which he happened to have on board, and showed it to some of the natives, who begged it of him with the most earnest importunity. The captain complied with their desires, and on going again on shore the next day, he saw an elderly man with his back to a wall, reading the speeches of the first Iliad, to an audience of fourteen or fifteen persons, with all the fury of declamation. To this anecdote we may add another, of equal authenticity and greater probability. With respect to our immediate subject of

the Greek language, it will ascertain but a single word, but it will show the moving of a spirit, which haply one day will speak in pages and volumes. It is an extract from a letter of Dr. Clarke, the traveller, to Lord Byron. Its occasion will better appear by a sentence from Chateaubriand's *Itinéraire*. "Lord Elgin has counterbalanced the merits of his laudable efforts, by ravaging the Parthenon. He was desirous of removing the basso-relieves from the frieze. The Turkish workmen employed in executing this design first broke the architrave, and threw down the capital, and then, instead of taking out the metopes by the grooves, the barbarians thought it the shortest way to break the cornice." Dr. Clarke says, "When the last of the metopes was taken from the Parthenon, and in moving it, a great part of the superstructure with one of the triglyphs was thrown down by the workmen, the disdar, who beheld the mischief done to the building, took his pipe from his mouth, dropped a tear, and in a supplicating tone of voice cried out to the agent *tuas!*\* I was present."

But to return; the attempts of the Russians to restore the Greeks, as they were undertaken from reasons of state, have for these same reasons been abandoned; leaving this defenceless country to the severer tyranny and aggravated oppression of its Turkish masters. Yet still the hope of their restoration is cherished among themselves, and much has been done to increase the means of education. There is at Havaii an institution for the education of Greek youth, with a hundred students and three professors. This establishment was disturbed by the Porte, under the the ridiculous pretext, that the Greeks were constructing a fortress instead of a school. But upon investigating the matter, and bribing the Divan, it has been suffered to continue. The principal professor, named Veniamin, (Benjamin) is stated to be a man of talents, but an infidel. He was born at Lesbos, studied in Italy, and is master of Romaic, Latin, and some of the languages of modern Europe.

The most distinguished patrons however of modern Greek literature, are two brothers, of the name of Zosimado,

\* Cease.

natives of Joannina, the capital of Epirus, but settled as merchants at Leghorn. It is by their encouragement, and at their expence, that Coray has been prosecuting his studies at Paris. Their names are mentioned with fondness and respect by all their countrymen.

Of Coray, from whose talents the best expectations are formed, and who indeed appears to have done most, at least of living Hellenists, towards improving his native dialect, a short notice may be acceptable. He is a native, according to Lord Byron, of Scio, the ancient Chios, though by the Edinburgh reviewers\* it is stated that he was born at Smyrna, and that his family are living in a village in its vicinity. Where he received his education does not appear. He has published, with a French translation, the treatise of Hippocrates *περί ἀθροῦς καὶ ἀνέμου καὶ τριτοῦ*, and the *Æthiopica* of Heliodorus, as he says in the title page, *κατὰ Ἑλλήνων*, with a preface in modern Greek, and notes in ancient Greek. In the latter part of his preface he speaks of the bad style of those, who have written in modern Greek, and ends with a spirited address to his countrymen. He has also translated into modern Greek, Beccaria on crimes and punishments. Besides these works, he has published a French translation of the characters of Theophrastus, and many of his conjectures and illustrations of Herodotus are inserted by Larcher, in his translation of that work. He has proposed to publish all the Greek classics, with Romæic versions and Greek notes. Of these Thucydides in ten volumes, and we believe Herodotus, are published. He is considered a man of elegant mind, and of extensive acquaintance with the Greek classics. His French style is clear and elegant, and he has lately published a *Lexicon* of the Romæic and French language. He has been recently involved in an unpleasant controversy with M. Gail, a Parisian commentator and editor of some translations from the Greek poets, in consequence of the Institute having rewarded him for his version of the treatise of Hippocrates, to the disparagement and consequent displeasure of M. Gail. In a pamphlet published by the latter, in the course of the con-

\* Edinburgh Review, No. 31, Review of "Traduction de Strabon."

traversy, he threatens Coray with the most unclassical chastisement, of throwing him out of the window. Upon which a French critic exclaims with characteristic naïveté. "Ah mon Dieu! jeter un Helleniste par la fenêtre! Quel sacrilège!"

Among other famous scholars, and next to Coray, are Panagiotes Kodrakes, the translator into Romaic of Fontenelle; Kamarases, who has translated Ocellus Lucanus on the universe into French; Christodoulos, the author of some physical treatises, and more particularly Psalida, professor of a very flourishing school at Joannina. This last has published in Romaic and Latin, a work on true happiness, dedicated to Catherine II. There is now at Athens a pupil of Psalida's, who is making a tour of observation through Greece. He is intelligent, says Lord Byron, and better educated than a fellow commoner of most colleges. These short notices of the Greek literati may convince us that there is something in motion for the improvement of their race, and gives us ground to hope, that if a conjuncture of foreign affairs should favor their restoration, they will not at least be wanting to themselves.

But whatever is done, or is to be done, it may be a subject of regret to a genuine enthusiast, that Athens itself, the very city of Minerva, is not likely to commence the revival. The whole Attic race is barbarous even to a proverb:

Ω Ἀθῆναι πρῶτη χυρῆ  
Τὴ γυμνασίῳ τρεφῆς τρεφῆ†

In the Fanal,‡ and Joannina of Epirus, the best Greek is spoken. We have never understood that there have been as yet any printing presses established in Greece, though in Trieste, Vienna, and Venice, there have been several erected for the especial multiplication of Romaic books. A correspondent of the Edinburgh review§ says, that he purchased at Venice a translation of Montesquieu's greatness and fall of the Roman empire: the Arabian Nights' Entertainment, and an epitome of

\* γυμνασίον, asinum.

† τρεφῆς, nunc.

‡ The Fanal is the quarter of Constantinople inhabited by the Greeks.

§ Review of "Traduction de Strabon."

Locke on the Human Understanding (*ou nous Anan*, as they call him) and some plays of Metastasio and Goldoni, all in Romain. There has been published at St. Petersburg a translation into this language of Catherine's instructions for forming a new code. At Misitra, which has commonly been considered as built on the ruins of Lacedæmon, though d'Anville conjectures and Chateaubriand establishes the contrary, the latter found, in the library of the Archbishop, Romain translations of Telemachus, and Rollin's history; he also found a translation of his own Atala. He adds, that "M. Stamati has likewise done me the honor to impart to my savage the language of Homer. The translator was a Greek, a native of Zante, who happened to be at Venice, when Atala appeared there in Italian, and from this version he began his vulgar Greek. I know not whether I concealed my name from pride or modesty; but my petty fame of authorship was so highly gratified, to find itself beside the brilliant glory of Lacedæmon, that the Archbishop's porter had reason to praise my liberality."

We have already mentioned the academy at Hainali, in Ionia. We are informed in the article of foreign literary intelligence in the Port Folio for December last, that others are established at Bucharest, Constantinople, and Mount Athos. In many also of the populous Grecian towns and cities are philosophical establishments of the nature of schools for the purpose of instruction, and under the care of professors. In that of Smyrna the number of professors is seven, and that of the scholars one hundred and fifty.

There is also in the city of Bucharest a society, formed by the assiduity of Ignatius, metropolitan of Wallachia. It is called the philological society, and consisted in 1811 of eighteen ordinary and ten corresponding members. It contributes to the support of a periodical work called *Ἔργα ἡ λογιὰς*, a paper published once a fortnight, and devoted among other topics to the ancient and modern Greek languages, and the explanation of their agreement and difference. Of this journal each of the Grecian schools in Europe and Asia is presented with one copy. The editor of this journal is the learned Anthimus Gazi, a native of Melia in Thessaly, and second in dignity in the

Greek church at Vienna. He is the author of a history of Greek literature to the taking of Constantinople, in four volumes. He has published maps of Greece, Europe, and Asia, a translation into Greek of Voltaire's Charles XII, a second translation of Martin's grammar of philosophical sciences, a second of La Lande's astronomy, and of the chemical philosophy of Fourcroy.

His most learned work, of which two of three small folio volumes have appeared from the press of Glycys in Venice, is a dictionary of the Romaic, on the basis of Stephens' Thesaurus. His paper just mentioned is printed at Vienna, where also is published another in the German language, which is devoted to topics of Greek literature, and conducted by Demetrius Alexandrides, a physician, and native of Thessaly; whom we shall mention hereafter as the translator of Goldsmith's history of Greece. From this paper it appears that translations have been made of Condillac's logic, and of the ancient and Roman history of Rollin. Homer's Iliad is announced as about to be published at Constantinople. Demetrius has lately published translations of Abulfeda's Geography, which, with a Turkish and Romaic Lexicon, and the translation of Goldsmith's history, we believe are all his works.

But in Greece itself, the tyranny of the Turks is so oppressive and so vigilant, that little liberty of the press is enjoyed by its poor inhabitants. They are forbidden to speak, and if possible to think, on all those topics of political and moral interest, which engage so much attention in other countries. "It is no great wonder then," says Lord Byron, "that in a catalogue now before me of fifty five Greek writers, many of whom were lately living, not above fifteen should have touched on any thing but religion. This catalogue is in the Ecclesiastical History of Meletius." Among them we may notice the following.

*Procopius*, of Moscopolis in Epirus, has written a catalogue of learned Greeks.

*Eustathius Psalida*, of Bucharest, a physician, has made the tour of England, ~~never returning~~; but though his name is eumemorated, he is not stated to have written any thing.



*Anastasius Macedon*, of Naxos, a member of the Royal Academy of Warsaw. A writer of church biography.

*Demetrius Pamperes*, a Moscopolite, has written many books, particularly a commentary on Hesiod's shield of Hercules, and two hundred tales. He has also published his correspondence with the celebrated George of Trebizond, his cotemporary.

*Meletius*, a celebrated geographer, and church historian, and author of the book whence these notices are taken.

*Dorotheus*, of Mitylene, an Aristotelian philosopher: his Romaic works are in great repute, and he is esteemed by the moderns, according to Meletius, *μετα τον Θουκυδιδην και Ξενοφωνα αριστος Έλληνας*. It is added, that he is so famous among his countrymen, that they are accustomed to say, if Thucydides and Xenophon were wanting, Dorotheus would repair the loss.

*Marinus count Tharbourès*, of Cephalonia, professor of chemistry in the academy of Padua, and member of that academy, and those of Stockholm and Upsal. He has published, at Vienna, an account of some marine animal, and a Treatise on the properties of iron.

*Marcus*, brother to the former, famous as a mechanician. He removed to St. Petersburg the immense rock, on which the statue of Peter the Great was fixed, in 1769; and published a dissertation upon the subject at Paris.

*George Constantine* has published a four tongued Lexicon.

All these authors are deceased. Among living ones, besides Coray, Kamarases, Christodoulos, and Psalida, already mentioned, is *Athanasius the Parian*, who has written a treatise on rhetoric. Panagiotes Kodrikas, mentioned above, has translated Fontenelle's plurality of worlds, a favorite work among the Greeks, and is stated to be a teacher of the Romaic and Arabic languages at Paris, in both which he excels.

There are several works in modern Greek, at the Boston Athenæum. As they are there accessible to reference or examination, it will be worth while to put down their titles: though for the most part they are anonymous, and apparently of little value.

*A history of Alexander the Macedonian*, containing his life, wars, exploits, and successes, with the places of his expeditions

and death, printed and diligently corrected, *κατὰ Νικολάου Γλυκοῦ*.

*Moral and political Maxims*, with counsels and admonitions, godly and spiritual, together with *Pilate's blasphemous indictment of Christ*.

*The New Flower of the Graces*, Romaic and Italian.

*An Amatory Poem*, called *Erotokritos*, composed by the most noble Bitzertzes. This poem is divided into five parts, and seems to be a rhyming drama.

*The Arabian Mythology*, composed in Arabic, by the most learned dervise, Abu-Bekur, translated this *third time* from the Italian to Romaic.

*Prologue of Syntipas, the philosopher*, translated from the Syriac.

ELEMENTS OF ARITHMETIC AND ALGEBRA, written in French by the Abbe de la Caille, and translated by Jonas Sparmiotes.

*The Door of repentance*: a searching and most useful book, containing the four ends of man, death, judgment, hell, and paradise. Composed formerly by a wise man, and now improved and corrected with care by the brothers of the monastery of St. Demetrius, at the holy mount of Athos:

Ἔς τοῦτον τὸν Οὐδοῶξιν ἀφιέλαι.

But by far the most interesting is the following;—which is the specimen referred to p. 84.

Γολδερμὶ Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης καταβολῆς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων, ἕως τῆς αἰτίας τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ὑπὸ τοῦ Οὐδοῶξιν.

It is both translated and amplified; and is the work of *Demetrius Alexandrides*, mentioned above. The copy in the Athenæum is of the second edition, and contains a brief dissertation *περὶ ἐπιστάσεως, καὶ τύχης, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θρησκείας, ὅθεν καὶ ἐληνὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων*. It was printed at Vienna in 1807. It is dedicated to the brothers Zosimado, who were mentioned above, in the following terms. *Ταῖς ὑπαρχίδαις Ἰωαννινοῖς, Ἀδελφοῖς Ζωσιμαδαῖς Κύριαις, Ἑλλάδος Ἐκτεγνῆταις, ὁ Μοναρχοῦς ταύτης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἱστορίαν, ἐκτεγνῆσθαι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀνατίθημι*. In the list of subscribers, is Anthimus, the most holy patriarch of Jerusalem.

There is a translation, which we have before named, of the New Testament into the modern Greek. The name of its author is Maximus, which is all we know of him or it. It is not probably of any critical value.\*

[illegible]

We regret that this is all the information, which we have been able to collect on the modern Greek language and literature. Though there have been written many books, from which we might expect the most interesting details upon this subject, we have been generally disappointed. The travels of Chateaubriand, for instance, are written with great spirit, and a very classical taste; but his notices are nearly confined to the state of manners, the topography, and the ruins of Greece. The old travellers dwell almost exclusively upon the same topics, and as not many of them had his learning, and still fewer his fine imagination, their accounts are for the most part unsatisfactory and dull. Our greatest obligations are to the notes and appendix of Lord Byron's new poem of Childe Harold.

\* A fine copy of this book, formerly in the possession of Casar de Missy, is in the library of Harvard college, where is also a Lexicon of the Romaic and Italian languages, which appears to be very copious, and is the work of Somavera.

† *av*, if: *av* *particulus* same as *μήτε*, an instance of the use of particles: *οὐκ*, which: *δι*, not: *αὐ* another particle, expressive of the imperative mood.

For the rest, though the vulgar Romaic is a wretched jargon, compared with the Athenian Greek, yet how nigh does it come to classical purity, considered as a modern language? It is indeed melancholy to be obliged to count in that city, where an herb woman detected the exquisite Atticism of Theophrastus, three distinct dialects of different purity. But how small a degeneracy is this, compared with that of Jerusalem or Rome? In the former, the place of the sacred tongue is supplied with a depraved dialect of Turkish, in which hardly a word of Hebrew is to be detected, and which in its best estate, says Lady Montague, is a confused and irregular gabble. While in the city of Tully and Virgil, the noble stream of the Roman speech has been polluted with a torrent of Gothic from the north, and of Arabic from the east; till its character is changed, and its identity lost. If then, in the page of revolutions, which is opening on the world, there is written an hour of political revival for Greece, we may prophesy, without enthusiasm, that their language may be restored. Till this hour of political revival shall come, it is not even to be hoped that they should regain the purity of their fathers' tongue. For who could hear, without pain, the language of Leonidas and Miltiades from the lips of a Russian vassal, or a Turkish slave? We think indeed of the ancient Greeks, to borrow the beautiful words of Mr. Ames, in that fine essay on American literature, "that their apprehension was quicker, their native taste more refined, their prose poetry, their poetry music, their music enchantment. We imagine they had more expression in their faces, more grace in their movements, more sweetness in their tones of conversation than the moderns." Alas, this expression of face is clouded in dejection, this grace of movement is broken by the labors of servitude, this sweetness of voice is hushed into murmurs against their tyrants! And can we wish then that their melodious prose and enchanting poetry should return to gild those chains, which need not such a contrast with their pristine glory, to render them intolerable. Unhappy Greece!

"Yet are thy skies as blue, thy crags as wild,  
Sweet are thy groves, and verdant are thy fields,

Thine olive ripe as when Minerva smiled,  
 And still his honied wealth Hymettus yields!  
 There the blithe bee his fragrant fortreas builds—  
 The freeborn wanderer of thy mountain air,  
 Apollo still thy long, long summer gilds,  
 Still in his beam Mendeli's marbles glare;  
 Art, glory, freedom fails, but nature still is fair."

*Childe Harold*

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## POETRY.

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### THE RAINBOW.

SEEN through the misty southern air,  
 What painted gleam of light is there,  
 Luring the charmed eye?  
 Whose mellowing shades of different dyes,  
 In rich profusion gorgeous rise,  
 And melt into the sky.

Higher and higher still it grows,  
 Brighter and clearer yet it shows,  
 It widens, lengthens, rounds;  
 And now that gleam of painted light,  
 A noble arch, confest to sight,  
 Spans the empyreal bounds!

What curious mechanician wrought,  
 What viewless hands, as swift as thought,  
 Have bent this flexile bow?  
 What seraph-touch these shades could blend  
 Without beginning, without end?  
 What sylph such tints bestow?

If Fancy's telescope we bring  
 To scan withal this peerless thing,  
 The Air, the Cloud, the Water-king,  
 'Twould seem their treasures joined,  
 And the proud monarch of the day,  
 Their grand ally, his splendid ray  
 Of eastern gold combined.

Vain vision hence! That will reverse,  
Which, in creation's infant year,  
Bade, in compassion to our fear,  
(Scarce spent the deluge rage,)  
Each elemental cause combine,  
Whose rich effect should form this sign,  
Through every future age.

O Peace! the rainbow-embled maid,  
Where have thy fairy footsteps strayed?  
Where hides thy seraph form?  
What twilight caves of ocean rest?  
Or in what island of the blest  
Sails it on galls of morn!

Missioned from heaven in early hour,  
Designed through Eden's blissful bower  
Delightedly to tread;  
Till exiled thence in evil time,  
Scared at the company of crime,  
Thy startled pinions fled.

E'er since that hour, alas the thought!  
Like thine own dove who vainly sought  
To find a sheltered nest;  
Still from the east, the south, the north,  
Doomed to be driven a wanderer forth,  
And find not where to rest.

Till, when the west its world displayed  
Of hiding hills, and sheltering shade,  
Hither thy weary flight was stayed,  
Here fondly fixed thy seat;  
Our forest glens, our desert caves,  
Our wall of interposing waves,  
Deemed a secure retreat.

In vain—from this thy last abode  
(One pitying glance on earth bestowed)  
We saw thee take the heaven-ward road,  
Where yonder cliffs arise;  
Saw thee thy tearful features shroud,  
Till, cradled on the conscious cloud,  
That, to await thy coming, bowed,  
We lost thee in the skies.

For now the maniac-demon, War,  
 Whose ravings heard so long from far,  
 Convulsed us with their distant jar,  
     Nearer and louder roars;  
 His arm, that death and conquest hurled  
 On all beside of all the world,  
     Claims these remaining shores.

What though the laurel leaves he tear,  
 Proud round his impious brow to wear  
     A wreath that will not fade;  
 What boots him its perennial power—  
 Those laurels canker where they flower,  
     They poison where they shade.

But thou, around whose holy head  
 The balmy olive loves to spread,  
     Return, O nymph benign!  
 With buds that paradise bestowed,  
 Whence "healing for the nations" flowed,  
     Our bleeding temples twine.

For thee our fathers ploughed the strand;  
 For thee they left that goodly land,  
     That turf their childhood trod;  
 The hearths, on which their infants played  
 The tombs, in which their sires were layed,  
     The altars of their God.

Then, by their consecrated dust,  
 Their spirits, spirits of the just!  
     Now near their Maker's face;  
 By their privations and their cares,  
 Their pilgrim toils, their patriot prayers,  
     Desert thou not their race.

Descend to mortal ken confest,  
 Known by thy white and stainless vest,  
 And let us, on the mountain crest  
     That snowy mantle see;  
 Oh let not here thy mission close,  
 Leave not the erring sons of those,  
     Who left a world for thee!

Celestial visitant! again  
 Resume thy gentle, golden reign,

Our honored guest once more;  
 Cheer with thy smiles our saddened plain,  
 And let thy Rainbow, o'er the main,  
 Tell that the storms are o'er!

#### A NEW YEAR'S ADDRESS.

MARY, a vain, presumptuous muse,  
 No matter where, no matter whose,  
 With honest heart, and wish sincere,  
 For thee would hail the opening year.  
 For thee, yet not for thee alone,  
 A selfish motive too I own.  
 While fancy pictures to my view,  
 Just how you look, and what you do;  
 Lost to myself, her soothing power  
 Shall charm away a lonely hour:  
 To wish thee blest, shall bliss bestow,  
 And for the moment make me so.  
 Come then, sweet fancy, spread around  
 Thy scenes, with fairest pleasures crown'd,  
 And as each various joy is shown,  
 Mary, I'll wish it all thy own.

Yet can it be, the rapid year  
 Has wrought such change, since thou wast here?  
 With thee remembrance joins the scene  
 Of Summer smiling o'er the green.  
 Now Winter holds his angry reign;  
 All dead the flowers, all drear the plain.  
 Thus o'er my heart hath swept the blast,  
 And left of what it was the waste.  
 Winter, thy scapes, thy howling wind,  
 Suit well the temper of my mind;  
 As now thy icy hand has stayed  
 The stream, that murmured o'er the glade;  
 Breathe through my breast thy chill control,  
 And freeze the currents of my soul.  
 Blasted my hopes, my summer fled,  
 Oh, that my feelings too were dead.

Yet Winter, desolate and drear,  
 Has still its joys, to virtue dear.  
 The heart, forbid abroad to roam,  
 Retires, and finds its bliss at home.



Such bliss, as once the Olmy bard  
 Delighted sung, while Anna heard.  
 An Anna now inspires again;  
 But ah, no Cowper breathes the strain.  
 Around the cheerful evening fire,  
 May circling friends your breast inspire  
 With every joy, affection knows,  
 Whene'er in hearts, like thine, it glows.  
 Methinks I see the group complete;  
 With look so arch, and turn so neat,  
 There's Ann; and Sarah, o'er whose cheek,  
 Such flying gleams of feeling speak;  
 Like the soft shades and lights, that pass  
 Quick o'er the undulating grass;  
 And e'er her tongue the word supplies,  
 The thought is looking from her eyes.  
 And Ellen too, sweet girl, is there,  
 In friendship to forget despair;  
 E'en her pale cheek bright smiles resume,  
 Like spirits waking from the tomb.  
 Now wit with sportive sally plays,  
 And gaily all the circle sways;  
 And now the sober thought refined,  
 At once delights and mends the mind;  
 And now you're still as summer weather,  
 And now you're talking all together;  
 Or else perhaps some poet's song,  
 Or novel, charms the eve along.  
 The candle snuffed, the new stir'd blaze  
 Round the fresh forestick briskly plays;  
 Mark how the magic spell proceeds,  
 The rest at work, while Mary reads;  
 At first the busy needle stops,  
 Then down the work, neglected, drops;  
 Then glows the cheek with glad surprise.  
 Joy swells the breast, and melts the eyes;  
 Or down the tear of pity steals  
 For woe, that only fancy feels;  
 But not alone at fancied woe  
 Will the kind tear of Mary flow.  
 Her voice will soothe the sigh of grief,  
 Her hand extend the quick relief.  
 Oh may this bliss inspire her breast,  
 The bliss of making others blest.  
 Thus, Winter, let thy moments roll,  
 Sweet with such interchange of soul;

While joys, like these, each hour beguile,  
Smooth thy rough features to a smile.

When fairer skies shall smile again,  
And flowers and verdure deck the plain,  
As the swollen bud expands its hue,  
May opening pleasures bloom for you.  
Then, oft as at the close of day,  
Pensive along the glades you stray;  
While all the mellow tinted west  
In twilight's last faint blush is drest;  
And many a mingling murmur's sound,  
And all the shadowy landscape round  
Breathe a soft sadness o'er the soul,  
And forms ideal hold control;  
And heaves unbid the half drawn sigh,  
And starts the tear, we know not why.  
Mid the dim shapes, that hover near,  
Oh might the minstrel's form appear;  
For him but heave one half drawn sigh,  
Start but one tear, you half know why.

May Health, of smiles the joyous queen,  
With placid air and look serene,  
Blend on thy cheek her bloom so fair,  
With feeling's glow, that mantles there.  
And shall I wish thee wealth and state,  
The dazzling splendor of the great?  
Yes, could or wealth, or state impart  
A single joy to Mary's heart.  
May heaven more kindly grant to thee  
An elegant sufficiency:  
And ah, more blest a friend to share  
Thy every thought, thy every care.  
Shall I, though but in colors faint,  
What sort of friend, I wish thee, paint!—  
A judgment clear, a polished mind;  
A fancy glowing, yet refined;  
A taste by quick perception taught,  
To mark the nicest shades of thought;  
A temper, open, kind, sincere,  
A heart to know, and hold thee dear.  
Let feeling in his breast beat high;  
Gleam in the glances of his eye,  
Now all impassioned, e'en to excess,  
Now, melting into tenderness;  
Yet, let with strict imperious ways,  
Discretion teach him to obey,

And mild religion's just control  
 Soften and sanctify the whole.

But what avails my wish, my prayer,  
 To yield thee joy, or guard from care?  
 'Tis thine, fair piety, to give  
 To life, what makes it bliss to live;  
 When sorrow saddens all the heart,  
 'Tis thine, with kind persuasive art,  
 To bid the anxious tumult cease,  
 And sweetly soothe the soul to peace;  
 To raise to heaven the weeping eye,  
 And point where pleasures never die;  
 To breathe contentment through the mind,  
 And teach us how to be resigned.  
 Oh may this power, with light divine,  
 On thy whole course benignant shine;  
 Guide thee through life's perplexed maze,  
 Gild the calm evening of thy days;  
 Then bid thy gentle spirit fly  
 To brighter, happier worlds on high.

#### ON A SUMMER EVENING.

TO A LADY.

IT is a lovely eve. Meek twilight now  
 Begins her gentle but too short lived reign.  
 The evening star shines in her radiant front;  
 The gilded clouds slow rising from the west,  
 Her robe of state;—her golden sandals press  
 The verge of heaven. It is a lovely eve.  
 How different from the morn so lately seen!  
 Then all was life, and joy, and harmony:  
 The sportive birds sung to the rising dawn,  
 And to the quickened sense the perfumed air  
 Seemed doubly odorous: the dewy grass  
 Glittered like Fancy's fairy-work;—the sun  
 Looked on it, and the tints, so beauteous late,  
 Like the gay dreams of youth, dissolved in air.  
 Now all is calm and still. No more the groves  
 Echo the songster's cheerful note.  
 Nought breaks the silence but the frog's rude croak  
 Discordant, sounding from the distant pool.

Yet say, is not this contemplative hour,  
 When all around breathes peace, more dear to thee  
 Than all the transient splendors of the morn!  
 But see, the sun, long sunk beneath the west,  
 Lends his last glories to the evening cloud.  
 How many eyes that mark his setting beam,  
 Shall never see his rising!—Even so,  
 Father, for so it seemeth good to thee.  
 The longest day that man must spend on earth,  
 How short, how doubtful! Yet in this brief space,  
 We toil, and sigh, and strive—and are content.  
 The twilight now has closed; but all the scene  
 Of glory is not ended: in its stead,  
 Majestic night, with all her train of worlds,  
 Appears sublime in beauty. Fancy now  
 Escapes from earth and soars above the stars.  
 Dear lady, so let our short day be spent,  
 That when our sun is set, its parting beams  
 May lighten years yet distant; and when time  
 Has whelmed us in the wreck of days gone by,  
 Our rising may be joyous! \* \* \* \*

Cambridge.

SWEET visions of fancy, deceitful as fair,  
 Though often misguiding, not cherished the less;  
 How oft have ye solaced the moment of care,  
 And diffused your bright beams o'er the gloom of distress!

How often has time flitted rapidly by,  
 When lured by your promise, or charmed by your spell!  
 How often, when pensive, I could not tell why,  
 Have ye smiled that I loved your delusions so well!

Such have been my feelings;—such has been your power:—  
 Farewell! and O, with you, forever adieu,  
 All the flatteries that gilded my heart's dearest hour,  
 And the ardor that fancied those flatteries true.

Farewell! at stern duty's command, I resign  
 All that once was so fondly, so foolishly dear:  
 Farewell! though your transports no longer are mine,  
 I am freed from your sadness, your terror, your tear.

O, no more may my spirit recline on your aid,  
 Its sorrows to soothe, or its fears to disarm;  
 For the tints of the rainbow, that glitter and fade;  
 May I look to the sunbeam that lends them their charm.

Cambridge.

### IMITATION.

HORACE.—ODE 16. LIB. 2.

WHEN gloomy clouds obscure the orb of night,  
 And guiding stars withhold their twinkling light,  
 As o'er the main his fragile bark he plies,  
 'Grant me repose,' th' affrighted seaman cries.  
 In the long contest with unconquered foes,  
 The weary soldier asks in vain repose.  
 But gold, nor diamonds, nor the Tyrian dye  
 Can e'er the price of calm repose supply;  
 Nor wealth, nor regal power, nor pomp control  
 The wild disordering tumult of the soul.  
 In stately halls, within the gilded dome,  
 Still hover anxious cares and find a home.  
 Happy the man, though mean his wealth, whose breast  
 Nor fear, nor sordid avarice molest;  
 Whose frugal board his moderate mind bespeaks,  
 Whose easy slumbers no base passion breaks.  
 Why for brief life seek we so much to gain?  
 Why roam to other climes across the main?  
 Can the poor exile from himself escape?  
 Care always haunts him in some hideous shape;  
 With him ascends the sturdy vessel's height;  
 Nor quits the horseman in his rapid flight:  
 Swifter than deer, when roused by hunters' cries,  
 Or winds that drive the storm along the skies.  
 Pleased with the present let thy mind forbear,  
 Nor further seek, nor for the uncertain care.  
 With brow unclouded meet the frowns of fate;  
 No bliss is perfect in this mortal state:  
 Not seldom victory brings her bloody wreath  
 To crown her favorite in the arms of death:  
 Or spared, perchance, he sinks in slow decay,  
 And wastes unhonored life's last years away.  
 Nor worth, nor high renown, nor wit can save  
 One human being from the greedy grave.

Not thriving flocks that round the mansion bleat,  
 Nor fields with rich Sicilian kine replete,  
 Nor robes in Tyrian purple double dyed,  
 Nor Parthian steeds that neigh with pampered pride,  
 Can turn aside the inevitable blow,  
 Or stay the fatal shaft that lays thee low.  
 My gifts from fortune are but small indeed,  
 But they afford the little that I need,  
 And what I lack, the Grecian muse supplies,  
 And wafts my fancy o'er the earth and skies.  
 She makes me hate the grovelling, envious throng,  
 Nor suffers meaner things to check my song.

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SELECTED.

There seems to us great beauty in the conclusion of the following sonnet  
 of Milton, on his blindness.

WHEN I consider how my light is spent  
 Ere half my days, in this dark world and wide,  
 And that one talent which is death to hide  
 Lodged with me useless, though my soul more bent  
 To serve therewith my Maker, and present  
 My true account, lest he returning chide;  
 Doth God exact day-labor, light denied,  
 I fondly ask: But patience to prevent  
 That murmur soon replies, God doth not need  
 Either man's work or his own gifts; who best  
 Bear his mild yoke they serve him best; his state  
 Is kingly: thousands at his bidding speed,  
 And post o'er land and ocean without rest;  
 They also serve who only stand and wait.

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## REVIEW.

Nec vero hæc sine sorte data, sine iudice, sedes.—*Virg.*

### ARTICLE 1.

*Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States. By Henry Lee, Lt. Col. Commandant of the partisan legion during the American war.*

—Quæque ipse miserrima vidi  
Et quorum pars fui.—*VIRGIL.*

2 vols. 8vo. Philadelphia, Bradford & Inskeep. New-York, Inskeep & Bradford, 1812.

THE works which have been produced upon the history of the American revolutionary war have been sufficiently voluminous to afford room for a complete and minute account of every memorable event which relates to it, and many of their authors have had the best possible means of information on the subject upon which they have written. We have the statements of both of the contending parties, and they are in general given with such a degree of impartiality, that the truth may be discovered by comparing them. Several histories of the war are incorporated in the histories of the British nation, as those of Adolphus, Macfarlane, Belsham, and Bisset. The two last in particular are tinged deeply with party partialities, but are of value to the American reader, because they inform him of the parliamentary history connected with that of the war, which is at least as important, if not as interesting, as mere narratives of military movements. The Annual Register contains a condensed, but perhaps as judicious and faithful account of the events of the war, as is to be found, and is well worthy of being consulted, not only on this account, but also for the many curious and valuable articles of intelligence, relating to American affairs,

which are contained in its Chronicle, and the important state papers which it has preserved.

Other Englishmen have devoted their pages entirely to subjects relating to the American war. Stedman, who was personally conversant in many of the most important and interesting scenes which the war presented, and who served under Sir William Howe, Sir Henry Clinton, and Marquis Cornwallis, (we believe as commissary general,) has produced a large work, which contains the only separate and complete English history of the war. It is a work of good authority, although in some instances he has manifested a credulity which is unjust to the Americans.\*

The present Lt. Gen. Tarleton, who was Lt. Colonel of the British legion in the American war, is the author of a quarto volume, which contains a relation of all the events in which he was himself concerned, and is called an "history of the campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the southern provinces." More than half the volume is composed of public documents, letters of instruction, &c. some of which are worthy of preservation; but unfortunately it was for the interest of the author to misstate many events of importance in which he was engaged. Many of our countrymen are now living who can remember his character for barbarity and cruelty, and no one can read any history of the scenes in which he acted except his own, without feeling abhorrence at many of his deeds.† He acquired a good share of reputation, without perhaps much military ability. The corps which he commanded was long the terror of the southern country, because the Americans themselves were sometimes destitute of cavalry, and from its facility of motion his legion was the most active part of the British army, and was often employed in partizan expeditions, where the great object was to surprise. By exploits in this kind of warfare, he became confident in himself and formidable to others, but in the only action in which he was fairly met and opposed, he was completely defeated.‡ In his book he is guilty of the most

\* See Lee, vol. i. p. 371.

† See the account of the slaughter of Col. Buford's troops. Marshall's *Life of Lee*, i. 148.

‡ Battle of the Cowpens.



shameful misrepresentation of this affair, as well as of some others. Some strictures on his history were published by lieutenant Mackenzie, who was in the same service with himself, which are favorable neither to the integrity or military skill of lieutenant colonel Tarleton.

Four of the British generals, who held important commands in America, have also published either vindications of, or statements relative to their conduct of the war. The unfortunate Burgoyne produced an elaborate defence of his management of the expedition with which he was entrusted, and this was followed by a reply. But it appears from the evidence which he has produced, that the failure of the enterprize is to be attributed to no deficiency of ability in its execution on his part, or to any great skill in his conqueror. Gates actually overwhelmed him by numbers after Burgoyne had gained several important advantages. The remote causes of the event are to be found in the want of the cooperation of the other commanders, and especially in the errors in the plan of his operations as formed by the English cabinet, who, at the distance of three thousand miles, directed the motions of armies in a country of which they were extremely ignorant.

Sir William Howe, who, notwithstanding the triumphant *Mischianza*\* with which he quitted his command, has left be-

\* A very splendid entertainment given at Philadelphia by the officers of his army to Sir William Howe upon his leaving America. It consisted, as the name imports, of a variety of exhibitions. The company were first placed in barges, elegantly decorated, arranged in becoming order, and rowed for some time upon the river, with music, and amidst salutes from the vessels of war. Upon their landing they were conducted to an area, where they witnessed a tilt and tournament, after the manner of ancient chivalry. The knights, splendidly habited, contended in honor of some of the ladies of the city, who were dressed in Turkish dresses. This being finished, the procession passed through two triumphal arches, erected in honor of general Howe, to a house superbly ornamented, where refreshments were received. A ball then followed, after which were fireworks, and at twelve o'clock a costly supper closed the whole entertainment. The entertainment was perhaps as magnificent, as was ever witnessed in this country, and discovered more taste and learning than is often to be found in an army. A minute account of it may be found in the Appendix to the Chronicle of the Annual Register, for 1778, pp. 264—270.

hind him in this country, only a memory disgraced by his dissipation, and his unmanly inaction, which is not redeemed by one considerable achievement, published some defences of his conduct. There was a reply to his publication, in which a refutation of many of his statements was attempted,\* and there was also an answer by Mr. Galloway to some aspersions on his character which were contained in general Howe's pamphlet.

Lord Cornwallis was in the very first rank of those who conducted the war for the British government. He did more towards the subjugation of the colonies than any other officer, and he was not only able and enterprising in his military conduct, but estimable in his private character. But after he left the Carolinas, which had been the theatre of his glory, he appeared to have lost somewhat of his former spirit, to have been indecisive in his military enterprizes, and if he did not commit great mistakes, to have omitted many opportunities for obtaining great advantages over his then weak enemy. Sir Henry Clinton does not appear to have exercised any control over his actions other than that of advice; yet after the surrender of Yorktown the Marquis implied in a letter, which sir Henry published, that in the measures, which had led to this unfortunate issue, his own opinion had been overruled. In a pamphlet, which bears most interesting marks of modesty and candor, Sir Henry Clinton completely invalidated these charges, and evinced that the selection of Yorktown, as a place for a permanent establishment, which was the particular subject of dispute, was made in compliance with what he deemed the wishes of the Marquis. The reply of lord Cornwallis to this narrative is without any asperity, and shows that several important letters of sir Henry Clinton were not received in time to be of service, and also that his measures, which certainly were not the best for his cause, were taken with the intention to subserve the plans which the commander in chief might adopt.

A valuable history of the revolution was written by Mr. Gordon, who during the war was a clergyman in Brooklyne, near Boston. After the contest was at end he went to England, where he published his work, which, although it was un-

\* By the author of "Letters to a nobleman."

favorably received by some, and although not recommended by any beauty of style, has the high merits of accuracy and impartiality.

Annals of the events of the war are contained in the valuable work of Dr. Holmes, and also in the Collections of the Historical Society.\* But the only *histories* which have been produced in America, which are of much importance, are those of Ramsay and Marshall. Dr. Ramsay, during the whole war, was in some public station, either in the army as a surgeon, the legislature of South Carolina, or the Congress of the United States, and thus had excellent means of information. His history of the revolution of South Carolina is valuable, not as a narrative of military transactions, but as containing interesting and important facts, which are evidence of the sufferings of the Americans—of the army from want of provisions and want of pay—and of the people from the weakness of their own government, which could not protect them, and from the cruelty of the British, who were most oppressive where they had most power. The public papers connected with his volumes add much to the value of the work. His general history of the revolution is well known, and has such peculiar merits as entitle it to the attention of those who wish to be well informed on the subject of which it treats.

It is great praise of the *Life of Washington* to say, that it is worthy of Judge Marshall. It has done honor to our country abroad. Still however it is not difficult to point out some defects in it. His work is styled biographical, but is in fact historical; and the author, by assuming for it only the former modest character, which it does not in fact deserve, appears to have been less careful to perfect it in the latter. In the three volumes which contain the history of the war, we have an interesting and accurate detail of its events. We have a record of all those transactions, which, at the time, were obvious to the knowledge of all; and the correspondence of general Washington, which is given with much prodigality, affords information upon some of the more secret parts of our history. But we presume most of his readers have lamented its barrenness in

the congressional history of the times, and regretted that we know so little of our legislative revolutionary heroes, and of the transactions of the cabinet, which were at least as important as those of the field. The work of Judge Marshall is also defective as an history of the United States, in the information it contains as to the system of government among the colonies under which the first hostilities took place, and by which their independence was declared, as to the nature of the confederation, which succeeded it, and as to their transactions with foreign powers.

We have as yet therefore no proper history of our revolution, still less of the United States: perhaps one is not yet to be expected. It may be that we are yet too near the scenes we wish depicted; that the distance is not yet such as is best for a philosophic view. We must perhaps wait, until those who then lived shall be no more, and until the partialities, irritations, and party feelings of those days shall have entirely subsided, and then characters may be estimated fairly, and events portrayed without prejudice. We may then hope to see the causes of those great events which have taken place in our country more fully unfolded, and those uses made of facts for which they are alone worthy of being recorded. In the mean time we should endeavour to preserve and increase the records of the transactions of these periods, and should value each new fact relating to them, not only because it may add to our own amusement or knowledge, but from a regard to its future usefulness. There are probably many now living, whose number is rapidly diminishing, and whose memories are the only repositories of curious and important circumstances, relative to the political or military history of our revolution; and it is desirable to give perpetuity to this knowledge.

It was therefore with great pleasure that we received the work of general Lee. We knew that he had served in the war with much reputation, and by one who had been so actively engaged, we expected not only to be made better acquainted with facts already related in other works, but also to have been furnished with such new information, as a judicious eye-witness would obtain. The campaigns in the southern

states, in the principal part of which general Lee was employed, were as important, and in general far more interesting, than any other parts of the war. The battles were numerous, the achievements of the partizan officers often highly brilliant, and the constant activity of the armies for long periods produced abundance of incident. It is true that the forces employed on either side were never numerous, but whether the contending armies consist of one thousand or of an hundred thousand men, all the talents of the commanders may be developed, as great courage may be displayed by the soldiers, and the consequences of events may be equally important to the hostile nations. The operations of war being spread over a vast continent, by the plan that was adopted, it was by skirmishes that the fate of America was to be decided.\* And the transactions in the southern states were certainly very influential upon the event of the war. It was here that our enemy exerted himself as against our weakest part; here he obtained his greatest successes, and here as elsewhere, he was at last completely foiled. To this day we can perceive in those states the remains of that bitterness towards Great Britain, which was produced during the war by their sufferings, which were the greater, as they were much distracted by internal divisions, and as the power of the enemy was often evinced by cruelty and tyranny. Mr. Marshall gives the following character of the war in the south. "The sufferings occasioned by this ardent struggle for the southern states were not confined to the armies. The inhabitants of the country felt all the miseries which are inflicted by war in its most savage form. Being almost equally divided between the two contending parties, reciprocal injuries had gradually sharpened their resentments against each other, and had armed neighbour against neighbour, till it had become a war of extermination. As the parties alternately triumphed, opportunities were alternately given for the exercise of their vindictive passions. They derived additional virulence from the examples occasionally afforded by the commanders of the British forces."—"The disposition to retaliate, to the full extent of their power, if not to commit original injury, was

\* Annual Register, 1781. p. 83.

equally strong in the opposite party."\* General Lee gives many facts confirming these remarks, and in speaking of the conduct of the Georgian militia on a particular occasion, he says, that they "were so exasperated by the cruelties mutually inflicted in the course of the war in this state, that they were disposed to have sacrificed every man taken, and with the greatest difficulty was this disposition now suppressed."† In other parts of our country the miseries of war were severely felt, but here the people were treated not only as enemies, but as rebels.

But notwithstanding our prepossessions, we confess that we were disappointed upon reading the first hundred and fifty pages of Gen. Lee's history. In these pages are contained a short recapitulation of the events of the war previous to the invasion of the south, and the narrative of events in that department during the command of generals Howe and Lincoln; but there is little new in them, and less minuteness throughout than is to be found in Marshall. We began to wish that general Lee had not commenced his history until that period when he himself became an eye-witness, or that he had adhered to his original plan, and published the life of general Greene. Even now, after he has redeemed our good opinion, and inclined us in every thing to think favorably of him, we wish that this part of his work was different from what it is. It is not however without any merit. There are some new particulars relative to an attack on the fort at Red Bank, on the Delaware river, by colonel Donop, at the time the British were endeavouring to open the water communication between their army in Philadelphia, and their navy.‡ There are also some ingenious remarks upon the character of sir William Howe,§ and an animated description of the battle at Breed's hill; to his repulse at which general Lee attributes the subsequent extreme caution of sir William.¶

\* Vol. iv. pp. 537, 538.

† Vol. ii. p. 94.

‡ Vol. i. p. 31.

§ Vol. i. p. 49.

¶ We were very glad to read the following note, p. 53, as it vindicates to an individual unjustly forgotten, a high honor that is his due. "The

In this part of the work is also the following anecdote, which may interest some of our readers on account of those to whom it relates—general Lee, our author, then a captain, and the illustrious Hamilton, who then had the rank of lieutenant colonel. It took place during the retreat of the American army after the battle of Brandywine Creek.

"Contiguous to the enemy's route lay some mills, stored with flour, for the use of the American army. Their destruction was deemed necessary by the commander in chief; and his aid-de-camp, lieutenant colonel Hamilton, attended by captain Lee, with a small party of his troop of horse, were dispatched in front of the enemy, with the order of execution. The mill, or mills, stood on the bank of the Schuylkill. Approaching, you descend a long hill, leading to a bridge over the mill-race. On the summit of this hill two videts were posted, and soon after the party reached the mills, lieutenant colonel Hamilton took possession of a flat-bottomed boat for the purpose of transporting himself and his comrades across the river, should the sudden approach of the enemy render such retreat necessary. In a little time this precaution manifested his sagacity: the fire of the videts announced the enemy's appearance. The dragoons were ordered instantly to embark. Of the small party, four with the lieutenant colonel jumped into the boat, the van of the enemy's horse in full view, pressing down the hill in pursuit of the two videts. Captain Lee, with the remaining two, took the decision to regain the bridge, rather than detain the boat.

"Hamilton was committed to the flood, struggling against a violent current, increased by the recent rains; while Lee put his safety on the speed and soundness of his horse,

"The attention of the enemy being engaged by Lee's push for honor conferred upon colonel Prescott, [who is mentioned in the text to have been the commander at the battle of Breed's hill], was only a promotion in the army soon after established; and this, the writer was informed by a gentleman residing in Boston who was well acquainted with colonel Prescott, consisted only in the grade of lieutenant colonel, in a regiment of infantry. Considering himself entitled to a regiment, the hero of Breed's hill would not accept a second station. Warren, who fell nobly supporting the action, was the favorite of the day, and has engrossed the fame due to Prescott, Bunker's hill too has been considered as the field of battle, when it is well known that it was fought upon Breed's hill, the nearest of the two hills to Boston. No man reveres the character of Warren more than the writer; and he considers himself not only, by his obedience to truth, doing justice to colonel Prescott, but performing an acceptable service to the memory of the illustrious Warren; who, being a really great man, would disdain to wear laurels not his own." pp. 53, 54, note.

the bridge, delayed the attack upon the boat for a few minutes, and thus afforded to Hamilton a better chance of escape. The two videts preceded Lee as he reached the bridge; and himself with the four dragoons safely passed it, although the enemy's front section emptied their carbines and pistols at the distance of ten or twelve paces. Lee's apprehension for the safety of Hamilton continued to increase, as he heard volleys of carbines discharged upon the boat, which were returned by guns singly and occasionally. He trembled for the probable issue; and as soon as the pursuit ended, which did not long continue, he dispatched a dragoon to the commander in chief, describing with feelings of anxiety what had passed, and his sad presage. His letter was scarcely perused by Washington, before Hamilton himself appeared; and, ignorant of the contents of the paper in the general's hand, renewed his attention to the ill-boding separation, with the probability that his friend Lee had been cut off; inasmuch as instantly after he turned for the bridge, the British horse reached the mill, and commenced their operations upon the boat.

"Washington with joy relieved his fears, by giving to his aid-de-camp the captain's letter:

"Thus did fortune smile upon these two young soldiers, already united in friendship, which ceased only with life. Lieutenant colonel Hamilton escaped unhurt, but two of his four dragoons, with one of the boatmen, were wounded." pp. 19, 20, 21.

The following account of a most ingenious and courageous stratagem, which was practised by an American officer, is contained likewise in the same portion of the history.

"While the allied army was engaged before Savannah, colonel John White of the Georgia line, conceived and executed an extraordinary enterprise. Captain French, with a small party of the British regulars, was stationed on the Ogeechee river, about twenty five miles from Savannah. At the same place lay five British vessels, of which four were armed, the largest mounting fourteen guns. White, having with him only captain Etholm and three soldiers, kindled many fires, the illumination of which was discernible at the British station, exhibiting, by the manner of ranging them, the plan of a camp. To this stratagem he added another: he and his four comrades, imitating the manner of the staff, rode with haste in various directions, giving orders in a loud voice. French became satisfied that a large body of the enemy were upon him; and, on being summoned by White, he surrendered his detachment, the crews of the five vessels, forty in number, with the vessels, and one hundred and thirty stand of arms.

"Colonel White having succeeded, pretended that he must



keep back his troops, lest their animosity, already stifled by his great exertions, should break out, and indiscriminate slaughter take place in defiance of his authority; and that therefore he would commit his prisoners to three guides who would conduct them safely to good quarters. This humane attention on the part of White was thankfully received. He immediately ordered three of his attendants to proceed with the prisoners, who moved off with celerity, anxious to get away, lest the fury of White's corps, believed to be near at hand, might break out, much disposed as he was to restrain it.

"White, with the soldier retained by him, repaired, as he announced to his guides and prisoners, to his troops for the purpose of proceeding in their rear.

"He now employed himself in collecting the neighboring militia, with whom he overtook his guides, their charge safe and happy in the good treatment experienced.

"The extraordinary address of White was contrasted by the extraordinary folly of French; and both were necessary to produce this wonderful issue. The affair approaches too near the marvellous to have been admitted into these Memoirs, had it not been uniformly asserted, as uniformly accredited, and never contradicted." pp. 113, 114.

But if it were in our power to make any more acknowledgements of this kind, we should be obliged to forbear, or our readers would not admit our opinion to be correct, as to the part of the volume which we have been considering.

General Lee's account of the siege and surrender of Charleston differs in nothing material from the usual narratives of the same event. This was the only place of any importance, in which the Americans sustained a regular siege. The consequences of the capture of the city and the army were of far greater detriment to their cause, than those of the loss of either of the other great cities which were possessed by the enemy. It annihilated for a time the means of resistance, and gave to the British an important establishment, from whence they soon spread their power over the whole of South Carolina. As might be supposed, from the magnitude of the effects of this event, there were not wanting some who were severe in their judgment of the commander who surrendered, for it is a most common error, to connect the ideas of ill success and ill desert in military affairs. We have now before us a manuscript copy of a letter from general Lincoln to general Washington, dated July,

1780, containing a satisfactory vindication of his conduct. We should be glad to give to our readers the whole of this letter, which bears strong marks of the modest and able character of its writer, but its length (sixty pages) forbids it. Nor is it necessary to spend much time in justifying measures which no person of tolerable information will now condemn. The honorable result of the inquiries into his conduct, and the undiminished confidence of the commander in chief, should satisfy those who are not in possession of better means of judging, that general Lincoln, though he lost a city and an army, lost no portion of his reputation. It may also be observed, that all historians of credit concur in representing the loss of Charleston in such a manner, as not at all to diminish the honor of its excellent and respectable commander: "—so established," says general Lee, "was the spotless reputation of the vanquished general, that he continued to enjoy the undiminished respect and confidence of the congress, the army, and the commander in chief." Notwithstanding we will give some account of this apologetic letter below.\*

\* General Lincoln supposes several questions to be asked relative to Charleston, and we will endeavour to give a view of the answers to them, as stated in this letter.

1. "Why was the defence of Charleston undertaken." To this question it is answered—because it was the apparent wish of congress. When this city was threatened in 1776 they recommended a vigorous defence of it. When it was again in danger in 1779 they sent an engineer to fortify it, and subsequently sent three frigates to defend the harbor. Moreover, if the city had been left, the ships of war and the stores there collected must have been relinquished, and the enemy could not have been opposed with such inferior numbers as the Americans possessed in the open field. By defending it, the enemy was for a time checked, which was a certain advantage, and there was sufficient reason to believe, if the expected succors had arrived, that an evacuation of the city would have always been practicable, without any other losses than would be necessary from relinquishing it without defence.

2. "Why the army, stores, &c. were not brought off when it appeared that the post could no longer be defended?" It appears that the communication, between the city and the country, was kept open, and therefore, that a retreat was in the power of the Americans, until after the cavalry were surprised and dispersed on the sixteenth of April, and that after this, as a council of the officers in Charleston declared, "a retreat would be at

The loss of the army at Charleston was followed by all those depressing events which the Americans could have anticipated.

tended with many distressing inconveniences, if not rendered altogether impracticable," because—the civil authority were averse to it; it must be performed in the face of the enemy, in vessels unfit for the purpose, over a river three miles wide; that then a passage was to be forced through considerable bodies of the enemy to the Santee river; that the passage of such a river would be very difficult from want of boats, and that after having effected it, there would be no security from the pursuit of the British light troops. On the nineteenth of April such reinforcements were received, and such positions taken by the enemy, as in the opinion of the officers in Charleston, rendered a retreat impracticable. But general Lee considers general Lincoln to have committed an error in not evacuating the city, immediately after the harbor was lost, which was on the ninth of April. The answer to this objection, as given in the letter of general Lincoln, is, that there had been such repeated assurances of abundant reinforcements, from sources most to be depended upon, as would have made it unjustifiable to doubt that he should receive sufficient to preserve the means of retreat. The whole of the succors ordered were nine thousand and nine hundred men, but of this number only one thousand nine hundred and fifty were received. General Lincoln was thus disappointed in his reliance on those whom he had no right to distrust. There was no intimation that he would not receive sufficient reinforcements, previous to the sixteenth of April, and if he had received them, retreat would have been unnecessary, and after that period retreat was not in his power. These facts we conceive fully sufficient to justify the conduct of general Lincoln in not leaving the city, upon the loss of the harbor.

3. "Whether the necessary supplies of provisions were in time ordered, and why the defence of the town was undertaken with so small a quantity in it?" To this question it is answered—that as salted provisions are not easily preserved in the southern country, the dependence of the army was usually upon fresh provisions, which sufficiently abound, and that adequate supplies could be furnished to the city daily, so long as the communication was open, and in the expectation that it would be retained, the defence of the city was undertaken. But moreover, five thousand barrels of pork and as many of beef, and all other supplies necessary for an army of six thousand men had been ordered in July.

4. "Whether the state of the department was from time to time represented to congress and the necessary succors called for?" For an answer to this question general Lincoln refers to the numerous communications he had made to congress representing the weakness of the American power in the southern states, and he also quotes a long letter transmitted to congress, dated October, 1779, in which he represents the probability that the British would endeavour to make some permanent acquisitions in this quarter, and states the great evils which would follow from such an event.

In a very short time, and without any resistance, Cornwallis, upon whom the command devolved at the departure of Clinton,

which, he says, can only be avoided by a great increase of the strength of the army, which was then two thirds less than that of the British.

5. "Whether the marine arrangement was such as best to answer the purpose intended by congress in sending the frigates to Charleston?" It appears from the correspondence, which general Lincoln here produces, between himself and commodore Whipple, that he used every means of becoming acquainted with the harbor of Charleston, and sought for all proper advice and information as to the best stations for the vessels of war. But it seems that the defence of the harbor had been undertaken without much knowledge of its character. It was believed by congress, and by the public, that ships could be so stationed as to defend the bar; and on this account he supposes congress were induced to send them. But the attempt to defend the bar was soon found impracticable, and relinquished because there was not water enough for the purpose, at the proper positions; and the next position, which was taken near fort Moultrie, was also given up in accordance with the opinions of the commodore, because the passage of the bar had been made by the British, with a force much larger than had been expected, so that the final mode, in which the ships were disposed of, appears to have been rendered necessary, by their inadequacy to successful resistance to the enemy's naval force.

6. "Whether the necessary exertions were made to complete the works, and fortifications of the town?" The ample answer to this question consists of depositions of James Cannon, a gentleman who, from his intimacy with general Lincoln, had means of observing him; and of Archibald Gamble, who was manager of the public works at Charleston. They are complete and full testimonials of the great exertions, the interest, and industry of the commander in relation to the erection of the defensive works, and are honorable, not only to his public, but his private character.

7. The last question, which is answered in this letter, is—"Whether the defence of Charleston was conducted with that military spirit and determination, which justice to their country and themselves demanded?" It appears that on the thirtieth of March the enemy sat down before the place, and on the tenth of April, having completed their first parallel, the besieged were summoned to surrender. The demand was refused with promptitude and spirit. On the twentieth, when the second parallel was finished, proposals for surrender from the British were again rejected. On the eighth of May, when the third parallel was completed, a summons was again sent to general Lincoln, upon which he proposed terms of surrender, 'which' not being admitted, hostilities were renewed and continued till the eleventh, at which time, says general Lincoln—"The militia of the town having thrown down their arms—our provisions, saving a little rice, being exhausted—the troops on the line being worn down with fatigue, having for a number of days been obliged to lay upon the bastquette—out

was master of Augusta, Ninety-six, and Camden, and thus of the two states of Georgia and South Carolina, and prepared to advance into North Carolina. In the mean time general Gates was sent to the south, and began to collect a new army. His presence revived the expiring embers of opposition, the spirit of revolt manifested itself, and many of those who had fled from their country, upon its subjugation by the enemy, to the adjoining states returned.

"Among them were Francis Marion and Thomas Sumpter, both colonels in the South Carolina line, and both promoted by governor Rutledge to the rank of brigadier general in the militia of the state. Marion was about forty eight years of age, small in stature, hard in visage, healthy, abstemious, and taciturn. Enthusiastically wedded to the cause of liberty, he deeply deplored the doleful condition of his beloved country. The commonweal was his sole object; nothing selfish, nothing mercenary, soiled his ermine character. Fertile in stratagem, he struck unperceived; and retiring to those hidden retreats, selected by himself, in the morasses of Pedee and Black river, he placed his corps not only out of the reach of his foe, but often out of the discovery of his friends."

harbour closely blocked up—completely invested by land by nine thousand men at least, the flower of the British army in Army, besides the large force they could at all times draw from their Marine, and aided by a great number of blacks at their laborious employments—the garrison at this time (exclusive of sailors) but little exceeding two thousand five hundred men, part of whom had thrown down their arms—the citizens, in general, discontented—the enemy being within twenty yards of our lines, and preparing to make a general assault by sea and land—many of our cannon dismounted, and others silenced by the want of shot—a retreat being judged impracticable, and every hope of timely succor cut off—we then were induced to offer and accede to the terms executed on the twelfth."

"Lieutenant colonial Lee was ordered to join Marion after Greene determined to turn the war back to South Carolina in 1781. As an officer, with a small party, preceded Lee a few days march to find out Marion, who was known to vary his position in the swamps of Pedee sometimes in South Carolina, sometimes in North Carolina, and sometimes on the Black river. With the greatest difficulty did this officer learn how to communicate with the brigadier; and that, by the accident of hearing among our friends on the north side of the Pedee, of a small provision party of Marion's being on the same side of the river. Making himself known to this party, he was conveyed to the general, who had changed his ground since his party left him, which occasioned many hours' search even before his own men could find him."

A rigid disciplinarian, he reduced to practice the justice of his heart; and during the without ceasing of warfare, through which he passed, calumny itself never charged him with violating the rights of person, property, or of humanity. Never avoiding danger, he never rashly sought it; and acting for all around him as he did for himself, he risked the lives of his troops only when it was necessary. Never elated with prosperity, nor depressed by adversity, he preserved an equanimity which won the admiration of his friends, and exacted the respect of his enemies. The country from Camden to the seacoast between the Pedee and Santee rivers, was the theatre of his exertions.

"Sumpter was younger than Marion, larger in frame, better fitted in strength of body to the toils of war, and, like his compeer, devoted to the freedom of his country. His aspect was manly and stern, denoting insuperable firmness, and lofty courage. He was not over scrupulous as a soldier in his use of means, and apt to make considerable allowances for a state of war. Believing it warranted by the necessity of the case, he did not occupy his mind with critical examinations of the equity of his measures, or of their bearings on individuals; but indiscriminately pressed forward to his end—the destruction of his enemy and liberation of his country. In his military character he resembled Ajax; relying more upon the fierceness of his courage than upon the results of unrelaxing vigilance and nicely adjusted combination. Determined to deserve success, he risked his own life and the lives of his associates without reserve. Enchanted with the splendor of victory, he would wade in torrents of blood to attain it. This general drew about him the hardy sons of the upper and middle grounds; brave and determined like himself, familiar with difficulty, and fearless of danger. He traversed the region between Camden and Ninety-six.

"A third gentleman quickly followed their great example. Andrew Pickens,\* younger than either of them, inexperienced in war, with a sound head, a virtuous heart, and a daring spirit, joined in the noble resolve to burst the chains of bondage riveted upon the two southern states, and soon proved himself worthy of being ranked with his illustrious precursors. This gentleman was also promoted by the governor to the station of brigadier-general; and having assembled his associates of the same bold and hardy cast, distinguished himself and corps in the progress of the war, by the patience and cheerfulness with which every privation was borne, and the gallantry with which every danger was confronted. The country between Ninety-six and Augusta received his chief attention. These leaders were always engaged in breaking up the smaller posts and the intermediate communications, or in repairing losses sustained by action. The troops which followed their fortunes,

\* We believe that this gentleman is now a candidate for the office of governor of South Carolina.

on their own or their friends' horses, were armed with rifles, in the use of which they had become expert; a small portion only who acted as cavalry, being provided with sabres. When they approached the enemy they dismounted, leaving their horses in some hidden spot to the care of a few of their comrades. Victorious or vanquished, they flew to their horses, and thus improved victory or secured retreat.

"Their marches were long and toilsome, seldom feeding more than once a day. Their combats were like those of the Parthians, sudden and fierce; their decisions speedy, and all subsequent measures equally prompt. With alternate fortunes they persevered to the last, and greatly contributed to that success, which was the first object of their efforts." vol. i. pp. 164--167.

To these officers, and others resembling them in spirit and patriotism, much of the success which attended the American arms in the southern states is to be attributed. They traversed the country, collected temporary bands of the hardy mountaineers, who returned to their homes after some sudden expedition.

"The wallets were filled with provisions, the guns cleaned, bullets moulded, and a scanty supply of powder was distributed out of their scanty magazine. Two hours only were occupied in getting ready for motion, which followed as soon as the horses could be brought from pasture and accoutred. The grass of nature gave subsistence to the horse, while the soldier feasted on the homely contents of his wallet, made and filled by his wife or mother." vol. i. p. 205.

It was by such men, that the complete and secure establishment of the British power in the south was now prevented, until Gates appeared, and collected an army with which he felt able to approach the enemy. This officer, who had obtained a most unmerited degree of reputation by his victory at Saratoga, where such were the mistakes in the plan upon which his antagonist acted, and such his own physical force, that success was insured to moderately skilful exertions, assumed his new command, with an apparent confidence in his own superiority, not less inconsistent with modesty, than it appears to have been with justice. One of his first acts as commander of the southern armies was the rejection of the offer of a corps of cavalry, and to this ill-judged decision general Lee ascribes in a great measure the heavy disaster which he subsequently experienced.

"Calculating proudly," he says, "on the weight of his name, he appears to have slighted the prerequisites to victory, and to have hurried on to the field of battle with the impetuosity of youth."\* General Lee's remarks upon his military conduct are moderate and just, and free from all asperity. For ourselves, we confess that we feel little respect for the memory of the man, who used those base and dishonest means to supplant general Washington in his command, that it now fully appears were used by general Gates.† His ungenerous treatment of the commander in chief, and his presumptuous conduct in Carolina are indications of a character proud, selfish, and weak, which presents a still more unlovely aspect from the necessary contrast which we must make between himself and Lincoln, who preceded him, and Greene, who was his successor. General Gates was totally defeated in the first and only encounter which he had with lord Cornwallis, then the commander of the British force in the south. The loss of the battle of Camden, and the almost contemporaneous destruction of the force under general Sumpter, who had just gained some important advantages, again dispelled every appearance of powerful resistance to the invading enemy in the states of South Carolina and Georgia, and caused them to be considered as reannexed to the British empire. The remains of the American army reassembled at Hillsborough in North Carolina, and Lord Cornwallis, after some time spent in attention to civil affairs, advanced in pursuit. It was during this time of the prostration of our army, that the importance of those active partizans, who were animated by ardent courage, and by true patriotism was most sensibly felt. The British army was harassed on its march by Davidson and Davie, and the continued activity of Sumpter, Marion, and Pickens, convinced its leader that his conquests were not yet secured. At this period occurred one of the most important achievements of these independent warriors. A party of the mountaineers, who were assembled under the command of several of the militia colonels, totally destroyed the corps of colonel Ferguson, which was a most val-

\* Vol. i. p. 164.

† See Marshall's *Life of Washington* vol. iii. p. 336 and note 55th. Lee, vol. i. pp. 238 and 290.



stable part of the enemy's force.\* This disaster caused the return of Cornwallis to the neighbourhood of his former position at Camden.

Gates being recalled by congress, that his conduct might be scrutinized, Gen. Greene was appointed to succeed to his command. This distinguished officer had displayed his courage and ability in a long and honorable service. He was in the battles of Springfield, Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth, had been opposed to Cornwallis in New Jersey, and was under Sullivan at Rhode Island. He had also served as quarter-master-general. In all his duties he had acquitted himself honorably, and had obtained an untarnished reputation. "Indeed," says general Lee, "so manifold and important were his services, that

\* Colonel Ferguson lost his life in this action. He was the brother of the celebrated Adam Ferguson, and was the inventor of a new species of rifle gun. On the morning of the battle at Brandywine Creek, he had the life of general Washington in his power, as appears from the following extract from a letter of his to his brother, Dr. A. Ferguson. The circumstances related occurred while Ferguson lay with part of his riflemen on a skirt of a wood in front of general Knyphausen's division, "We had not lain long when a rebel officer, remarkable by a hussar dress," passed towards our army, within a hundred yards of my right flank, not perceiving us. He was followed by another dressed in dark green and blue, mounted on a good bay horse, with a remarkable large high cocked hat. I ordered three good shots to steal near to them and fire at them; but the idea disgusted me; I recalled the order. The hussar in returning made a circuit, but the other passed within a hundred yards of us; upon which I advanced from the wood towards him. Upon my calling, he stopped; but after looking at me, proceeded. I again drew his attention, and made sign to him to stop, levelling my piece at him; but he slowly continued his way. As I was within that distance at which, in the quickest firing, I could have lodged half a dozen balls in or about him, before he was out of my reach, I had only to determine; but it was not pleasant to fire at the back of an unoffending individual, who was acquitting himself very coolly of his duty; so I let him alone. The day after, I had been telling this story to some wounded officers who lay in the same room with me, when one of our surgeons, who had been dressing the wounded rebel officers, came in and told us, that they had been informing him, that general Washington was all the morning with the light troops, and only attended by a French officer in a hussar dress, he himself dressed and mounted in every point as above described. I am not sorry that I did not know at the time what it was." See *Biscoe's Continuation*, vol. ii. p. 122, note.

he became a very highly trusted counsellor of the commander in chief, respected for his sincerity, prized for his disinterestedness, and valued for his wisdom".\* Being now raised to an independent and important command, and placed in a station, the duties of which were arduous, his character underwent a severe test, which rendered it still more illustrious.

"A wide sphere of intellectual resource enabled him to inspire confidence, to rekindle courage, to decide hesitation, and infuse a spirit of exalted patriotism in the citizens of the state. By his own example, he showed the incalculable value of obedience, of patience, of vigilance and temperance. Dispensing justice, with an even hand, to the citizen and soldier; benign in heart, and happy in manners; he acquired the durable attachment and esteem of all. He collected around his person, able and respectable officers, and selected, for the several departments, those who were best qualified to fill them. His operations were then commenced with a boldness of design, well calculated to raise the drooping hopes of his country, and to excite the respect of his enemy." vol. i. pp. 244, 245.

At the same time that general Greene assumed the command of the southern army, general Lee, then lieutenant colonel of a partizan legion, composed of horse and foot, was detached from the army of general Washington to join him; and from this period his history becomes more valuable, and more entertaining. Greene, having placed a division of his force under the celebrated Morgan, advanced in two distinct bodies towards the position of his enemy. Cornwallis sent Tarleton against Morgan, who defeated him at the battle of the Cowpens;†

\* Vol. i. p. 227.

† The battle at the Cowpens was one of the most brilliant that was gained by the Americans during the whole war. The force of Morgan, according to a letter which he wrote to general Greene after the victory, was eight hundred: that of Tarleton was by all accounts at least one thousand, probably eleven hundred. In general Greene's official account of the battle, the loss of the Americans is stated at twelve killed and sixty wounded: that of the British at ten commissioned officers, and one hundred and sixty six rank and file killed, two hundred wounded, and twenty nine officers and five hundred privates prisoners. This account, so far as it relates to the American loss, is followed by all the American historians, and given by Stedman. The British loss is by some placed at six hundred in the whole, but generally at eight hundred. Tarleton with much disingenuous

but at the moment of success, the increase of the British forces, by a large reinforcement, from New York, rendered an union of the Americans, and a retreat necessary to their safety. The difficulties attending a junction of the forces may be estimated, when it is considered, that the British were between the two bodies; but it was effected with the greatest address at Guilford court-house. The whole retreat, which was continued until Greene had entered Virginia, making a distance of two hundred and thirty miles, was performed with a degree of military skill, which was equalled only by the activity and spirit with which lord Cornwallis pressed the pursuit. Such was the zeal of the Marquis, that he committed to the flames the whole baggage of his army, reserving only a small supply of clothing and waggons, sufficient for the conveyance of hospital stores, salt, and ammunition, and for the accommodation of the sick and wounded. The sufferings of the Americans during this retreat appear from the following.

"The shoes were generally worn out, the body clothes much tattered, and not more than a blanket for four men. The light corps was rather better off; but among its officers there was not a blanket for every three: so that among those whose hour admitted rest, it was an established rule, that at every fire, one should, in routine, keep upon his legs to preserve the fire in vigor. The tents were never used by the corps under Williams during the retreat. The heat of the fires was the only protection from rain,

nousness thus states the result of the battle in his Campaigns, page 218.

"The number of killed and wounded in the action at the Cowpens amounted to near three hundred on both sides, officers and men inclusive. This loss was almost equally shared; but the Americans took two pieces of cannon, the colors of the seventh regiment, and near four hundred prisoners." For some very just strictures on colonel Tarleton's conduct on this occasion, and on his general character, we refer our readers to Stedman's account of this battle.

While speaking of Tarleton, it may be well to mention a fact expressive of his own ideas of the opinion which was entertained of him among the American soldiers. When the post of Gloucester, of which he was the commander, was about to surrender, at the fall of Yorktown, he waited upon Choisé, the besieging general, and expressed his apprehensions for his personal safety, if put at the disposal of the American militia. These fears, as general Lee observes, "indubitably did not grow out of the American character or habit."

and sometimes snow: it kept the circumjacent ground and air dry, while imparting warmth to the body.

"Provisions were not to be found in abundance, so swift was our progress. The single meal allowed us was always scanty, though good in quality and very nutritious, being bacon and corn meal." vol. i. p. 295, note.

The post of colonel Lee at this time was in the rear guard; and such was the activity of his corps in its important duties of watching the enemy by night and day, that he says no one of them could obtain during the retreat more than six hours' sleep in forty eight. His account of the movements of this detachment is very amusing, and the narrative of the whole retreat is uncommonly interesting.

Général Greene having received a few reinforcements soon after he entered Virginia, determined immediately to return to the rescue of the lost provinces. In pursuance of this design he sent forward a body of light troops, under colonel Lee and brigadier Pickens,\* and soon after himself recrossed the river Dan, and advanced towards Cornwallis. He was not yet strong

\* This advanced party, hearing that Tarleton with a body of troops was at a considerable distance from the army, went in pursuit of them. On their way they fell in with four hundred royalists under colonel Pyle, who were in search of Tarleton. Lee, by an ingenious stratagem, passed himself upon them for the British officer, and had well nigh completely secured the whole party, when they discovered the deception, and some of them fired. This rendered an immediate attack upon them necessary, in which, according to general Lee, ninety were killed, and the rest dispersed. Judge Marshall has erroneously stated, that between two and three hundred of them were destroyed. Tarleton charges Lee with *inhuman barbarity* on this occasion, and the British accounts in general represent it in the same manner. General Lee has given a very particular account of this affair, in order, as he says, "to repel the unfounded stigma attached to the officer and corps engaged with colonel Pyle," and refers particularly to the account of Mr. Stedman. According to general Lee, the termination of this affair was wholly undesigned; an attack was rendered necessary by the circumstances in which he was, and there was no attempt to cut off those who fled. It has been therefore very unjustly represented as "a foul massacre," or an "inhuman barbarity." Though not so designed it was however in the event of great benefit, by its operation as a check upon the retreating service; for before this, Cornwallis hoped to replenish his army by means of the royalists; but he at last was compelled to relinquish his conquests, in consequence of the failure of this source of supply, upon which he very much depended.

enough to venture a battle, but he was desirous to prevent the execution of his opponent's design of obtaining recruits for his army from among the inhabitants of the country, who were here particularly favorable to the British cause. Some admirable manœuvres on both sides, and some small skirmishes took place between detachments of the two armies. Colonel Lee was engaged in most of these, in consequence of his having the command of cavalry and light troops. Upon the arrival of the reinforcements which general Greene expected, he found himself at the head of a respectable army, and willing now to try the fate of an engagement, took his position for that purpose. Cornwallis was eager for the contest, and instantly seized the opportunity. The battle of Guilford court-house now took place, and the struggle for victory was made by each army in full force. The numbers of our forces were greatly superior, but they were not able to withstand the discipline of the enemy, and the result, honorable to both parties, gave conquest to the British, but success to the Americans; for the loss which Cornwallis sustained in this engagement so greatly diminished his force, and he was so much in want of supplies, that he found it necessary, instead of again seeking the combat which Greene was expecting, and for which he was prepared, to retreat, first to Cross Creek, and shortly after to Wilmington, a sea-port town in the southeastern extremity of North Carolina. "Another such victory," said Mr. Fox in the House of Commons, "would destroy the British army."

"The campaign so far," says our author, "presents the undulation common to war. It opened with the victory of the Cowpens—an event very propitious to the United States, which was followed by our perilous retreat through North Carolina, when for many days the fate of Greene and his army hung in mournful suspense; and after a grand display of military science in marches, counter-marches, and positions, in consequence of the bold return of the American army into North Carolina, concluded with our defeat at Guilford court-house. Replenished in military stores, grown stronger by defeat, and bolder from disaster, the American general is now seen seeking with keener appetite a renewal of the conflict, while the British conqueror sedulously and successfully avoids it." vol. i. pp. 364, 365.

General Greene now turned his attention towards Camb-

den, where lord Rawdon (now earl Moira) was posted. Colonel Lee was detached to unite himself with Marion, who was then in the swamps of Black river, closely watched by a body of British troops under colonel Watson. As soon as the union was effected, they laid siege to Fort Watson on the Santee river. The position of general Greene was taken with a view to intercept colonel Watson on his return to the army, and to restrain the operations of lord Rawdon until he should be joined by some forces under general Sumpter, which he expected. In these circumstances, with superior numbers, and in a chosen position, he was attacked by his enterprising enemy, and defeated at the battle of Hobkirk's hill. The event of the battle was entirely unexpected by Greene, and deeply mortified him, although he himself was deficient neither in watchfulness, skill or bravery. But lord Rawdon was too much weakened for pursuit before being joined by Watson; and then, finding it impossible to bring on another battle, he determined to relinquish his posts, and retreat toward Charleston. Thus did general Greene triumph in his defeats, and compel successively Cornwallis and Rawdon to yield the ground upon which they had been victorious. Lord Rawdon retired to Monk's Corner, at no great distance from Charleston, where he remained waiting for reinforcements. In the mean time colonel Lee and his companions were most assiduously and successfully employed in breaking up the various small posts which had been established by the British for the security of the country, and as places of deposit for supplies. His narrative of these expeditions is minute and entertaining, and the information is novel, for we have before possessed but brief accounts of these events. After taking the forts Watson, Motte, Granby and Augusta, colonel Lee, with his prisoners,\* rejoined general Greene, who

\* These prisoners were the garrison of fort Cornwallis at Augusta. Judge Marshall says, that "in the hope the knowledge of the fate which had befallen the fort at Augusta might make some impression on the garrison of Ninety-six, they were marched in full view of the British works in all the parade of military triumph." Vol. iv. p. 536. Colonel Cruger, the commander of Ninety-six, believing that this exhibition was intended as an insult, opened his batteries upon the escort of the prisoners, although they themselves were equally exposed to the fire. We should perhaps

was then employed in the siege of Ninety-six.\* But lord Rawdon having received his expected reinforcements, and advancing to its relief, and an attempt to storm the works proving unsuccessful, it became necessary to relinquish the siege. The conduct of the works of the besiegers of Ninety-six was committed to the Polish officer, Koschiusko, of whom general Lee gives the following character, which we think will not entirely harmonize with the ideas which many probably entertain concerning the man, whose name the poet Campbell has immortalized, although probably it agrees with fact,

"Koschiusko was extremely amiable, and, I believe, a truly good man, nor was he deficient in his professional knowledge; but he was very moderate in talent—not a spark of the ethereal in his composition. His blunders lost us Ninety-six; and general Greene, much as he was beloved and respected, did not escape criticism, for permitting his engineer to direct the manner of approach. It was said, and with some justice too, that the general ought certainly to have listened to his opinion; but never ought to have permitted the pursuit of error, although supported by professional authority." vol. vi. p. 119.

Lord Rawdon, after relieving Ninety-six, followed for a little time in pursuit of general Greene, but finding that he could not bring him to battle, returned, and shortly after he quitted the town and fort, as the position was no longer tenable, from want of the intermediate posts. He marched toward Charleston in two distinct divisions, and the American commander, hoping now for an opportunity for a successful attack, sent colonel Lee to gain the front of the weakest division of the enemy, which was under lord Rawdon, while he himself pressed forward in pursuit. But it was found after much reconnoitering, that even this smaller division was too powerful to render a battle desirable, and he therefore drew off his army to the high hills

have thought from the representation of Judge Marshall, that in this instance colonel Lee had been deficient in delicacy towards his foe, had we not been informed by him, that it was in consequence of the officer's mistaking his way, and not in conformity to orders, that the prisoners were snatched in view of the besieged. vol. ii. p. 118.

\* So called, because it was ninety six miles distant from the principal town of the Cherokee Indians. Lee, vol. ii. p. 95.

of Santte, in order to afford them repose and refreshment during the hot weather, which had now commenced. Lord Rawdon, having been joined by the other division of his army, and by a body of troops from Charleston, took a position for the same purposes at Orangeburgh, and excepting a few small expeditions of the Americans against some remaining British posts, in which colonel Lee was, as usual, actively concerned, the tranquillity of the armies was for some time uninterrupted. And our troops may well be supposed to have needed this intermission of exertion after so long a period of active and fatiguing motion.

"We had often," says general Lee, "experienced in the course of the campaign want of food," and sometimes seriously suffered from the scantiness of our supplies, rendered more pinching by their quality; but never did we suffer so severely as during the few days' halt here [near Orangeburgh]. Rice furnished our substitute for bread, which, although tolerably relished by those familiarized to it from infancy, was very disagreeable to Marylanders and Virginians, who had grown up in the use of corn or wheat bread. Of meat we had literally none; for the few meagre cattle brought to camp as beef would not afford more than one or two ounces per man. Frogs abounded in some neighbouring ponds, and on them chiefly did the light troops subsist. They became in great demand from their nutritiousness; and, after conquering the existing prejudice, were diligently sought after. Even the alligator was used by a few; and, very probably, had the army been much longer detained upon that ground, might have rivalled the frog in the estimation of our epicures." vol. ii. pp. 144, 145.

We have mentioned that lord Cornwallis, after the battle of Guilford, had retired to Wilmington. From this place it was in his power either to return to the assistance of lord Rawdon, or to march into Virginia, and effect a junction with some troops, which were in that state, and which had been placed under his command. His lordship appears to have been aware of the importance of the decision, as to his future operations, and

\* "Tacitus (*de Moribus Germanorum*) observes that they had a plentiful table instead of pay—"Nam epulse, et quanquam incompti largi tamen apparatus pro stipendio cedunt." This cannot be said of us in toto. Like the Germans we had no pay; and instead of plentiful tables, in lieu, our table was not often plentiful, and seldom agreeable."



general Lee informs us, that he manifested much irresolution in the adoption of his plan. Once, he says, Cornwallis had determined to follow general Greene, and commenced his march; but this resolution was altered, and he moved towards Virginia, and arrived without any important opposition at Petersburg. We consider this step as one, which, more decidedly than any other, tended by its consequences to produce the termination of the contest between Great Britain and the United States. It led directly, as is well known, to the most splendid achievement which honored the American arms during the war—the capture of his whole army; and this was most effectual towards convincing the British of the vanity of continuing their attempts for our subjugation. The reasons which influenced Cornwallis to this momentous proceeding, we will give in his own words, as they are found in his answer to the narrative of sir Henry Clinton. He is speaking of the failure of the reinforcements, which he expected from the royalists in Carolina after his victory at Guilford.—“This disappointment, and the want and distresses of the army compelled me to move to Cross Creek; but meeting there with no material part of the promised assistance and supplies, I was obliged to continue my march to Wilmington, where hospitals and stores were ready for us. Of this move I sent information, by several expresses, to lord Rawdon, but unfortunately they all failed. My intention then was, as soon as I should have equipped my own corps, and received a part of the expected reinforcements from Ireland, to return to the upper country; in hopes of giving some protection to South Carolina, until new measures could be concerted with the commander in chief. The march of general Greene into North Carolina, and lord Rawdon’s danger, made my situation very critical. Having heard of the arrival of a packet from Europe, without any certain accounts of the sailing of the reinforcements, I thought it too hazardous to remain inactive, and as it was impossible to receive in time any orders or opinions from sir Henry Clinton to direct me, it became my duty to act from my own judgment and experience. I therefore, upon mature deliberation, decided to march into Virginia, as the safest and most effectual means of employing the small corps under my

command, in contributing toward the general success of the war. I came to this resolution principally for the following reasons— I could not remain at Wilmington lest general Greene should succeed against lord Rawdon, and, by returning to North Carolina, have it in his power to cut off every means of saving my small corps, except that disgraceful one of an embarkation, with the loss of the cavalry and every horse in the army:—From the shortness of lord Rawdon's stock of provisions, and the great distance from Wilmington to Camden, it appeared impossible that any direct move of mine could afford him the least prospect of relief: in the attempt, in case of a misfortune to him, the safety of my own corps might have been endangered; or, if he extricated himself, the force in South Carolina, when assembled, was, in my opinion, sufficient to secure what was valuable to us, and capable of defence in that province. I was likewise influenced by having just received an account from Charleston of the arrival of a frigate with despatches from the commander in chief, the substance of which, then transmitted to me, was, that general Phillips had been detached to the Chesapeak and put under my orders, which induced me to hope, that solid operations might be adopted in that quarter:—and I was most firmly persuaded that until Virginia was reduced we could not hold the more southern provinces, and that after its reduction they would fall without much resistance, and be retained without much difficulty.”\*

General Lee has devoted a chapter to an account of the invasions of Virginia by Arnold and Phillips. The only object of these expeditions seemed to be to depress the spirits of the country by desolating and laying it waste, and the most shameful ravages were committed upon private property. No force adequate to its defence being in the state, there was little opposition made to this war of depredation. But indications appearing of an intention to make a permanent establishment of the British force in Virginia, the Marquis de la Fayette was detached from Washington's army to its protection. His force, which was not equal to that under general Phillips, and a number of troops collected under the Baron Steyben, who were in-

\* Introduction to *Cornwallis's Reply*, 1783. pp. 6—8.

tended as a reinforcement for general Greene, were all that appeared to oppose him when Cornwallis arrived at Petersburg; but Fayette was in momentary expectation of reinforcements from the main army under general Wayne. To prevent the junction of these forces, Cornwallis made an ineffectual attempt to overtake Fayette, and had he acted with his former spirit he would have easily done it. But we are no longer to look upon Cornwallis as the same character, when we view him in his operations in Virginia, as that in which he appeared to us in the Carolinas. From causes, not entirely understood—either disagreement with sir Henry Clinton, or disappointment as to his own plans, or disgust at a service, which he now saw promised no successful issue, he discovered in the new situation, which he had chosen, no portion of those talents, which had kept the southern states in agitation, and had almost subjected them again to the British power. Several expeditions\* were executed by his light troops, which were of no great moment, when Wayne having reached Fayette, they moved towards the British commander. Neglecting opportunities of striking his still inferior foe, Cornwallis retired upon the approach of Fayette, and, in conformity to the wishes of Clinton, now directed his attention to the establishment of a post, where a harbor could be provided for the security of the shipping during the winter. Moving to Jamestown he commenced the passage of the river at that place on his way to Portsmouth. Fayette, having been joined by Steuben, determined to strike a blow upon his enemy when the greater part of his troops should have passed the river. He advanced with this intention to within a short distance of the British army, and conceiving the proper moment to be at hand, he made his attack. But he had been deceived in the information which had been given him, and to his surprise found that the greater part of Cornwallis' army had not yet crossed

\* One of these, under colonel Simcoe, was for the purpose of destroying the stores at the point of Fork, and was successful. The other, under colonel Tarleton, was sent to seize the governor (Jefferson) and the members of the assembly, convened at Charlottesville. Only a few of the members were captured, and the governor "very readily saved himself by taking shelter in an adjacent spur of the mountains."

the river. He was obliged rapidly to retreat with considerable loss;\* but although he had placed himself entirely in the power of the enemy, he was not at all pursued, even by the once enterprising Cornwallis.

"In this period of gloom, of disorder, and of peril, La Fayette was collected and undismayed. With zeal, with courage, and with sagacity, he discharged his arduous duties; and throughout his difficult retreat was never brought even to array but once in order for battle.—Invigorating our counsels by his precepts; dispelling our despondency by his example; and encouraging his troops to submit to their many privations, by the cheerfulness with which he participated in their wants; he imparted the energy of his own mind to the country, and infused his high toned spirit into his army." vol. II. p. 233.

Cornwallis, pursuing the designs of his commander in chief, determined upon the occupation of Yorktown, and of Gloucester on the opposite side of the river, for the security of the shipping; and accordingly employed himself in fortifying these posts. Meanwhile the position of the American troops was taken with the design of preventing his return to Carolina, had he determined on such a movement.† The events which followed the

\* Judge Marshall implies that the action on this occasion was begun before the orders had been given by the commander, and that he, having discovered his mistake, would have avoided one, except for its accidental commencement. General Lee however informs us, that Fayette listened to the report of his observers, and did not know his error till the engagement began.

† General Lee has occupied several pages with remarks upon the probable causes of what may without hesitation be called the misconduct of lord Cornwallis, and he has discovered a partiality towards him, which although it has not led him to attempt his entire exculpation, has, we think, caused him to represent sir Henry Clinton too much as the cause of what was wrong. We have before expressed our opinion upon the results of the publications of these two officers. With respect to the selection of Yorktown, we may further observe, that this place was not originally proposed by Clinton, but that he relinquished his designs of having some other places fortified, and acceded to the proposal for occupying this, in consequence of the representations of Cornwallis. "At present," says the latter in a letter to Clinton of the twenty sixth of May, 1781, "I am inclined to think well of York. My objections to Portsmouth are" &c. nor did he express any dissatisfaction with this post, until he had surrendered it, when he wrote

occupation of York, until its surrender to the united force of France and America must be too familiar to allow us to recapitulate them; especially as our limits would not permit such minuteness, as would enable us to give all that novelty to the narrative of them which general Lee has so happily done.

From this portion of the work we must be allowed to make an extract of the following anecdote, which is illustrative of the character both of Washington and Hamilton.

"An unhappy difference had occurred in the transaction of business between the general and his much respected aid, which produced the latter's withdraw from his family. A few days preceding this period, Hamilton had been engaged all the morning in copying some despatches, which the general, when about to take his usual rounds, directed him to forward as soon as finished.

"Washington finding on his return the despatches on the table, renewed his directions in expressions indicating his surprise at the delay; and again leaving his apartment, found, when he returned, the despatches where he had left them. At this time Hamilton had gone out in search of the courier, who had been long waiting, when accidentally he met the marquis La Fayette, who seizing him by the button (as was the habit of this zealous nobleman) engaged him in conversation; which being continued with the marquis' usual earnestness, dismissed from Hamilton's mind for some minutes the object in view. At length breaking off from the marquis he reached the courier, and directed him to come forward to receive his charge and orders. Returning, he found the general seated by the table, on which lay the despatches. The moment he appeared, Washington, with warmth and sternness, chided him for the delay; to which Hamilton mildly replied, stating the cause; when the general, rather irritated than mollified, sternly rebuked him. To this Hamilton answered, 'If your excellency thinks proper thus to address me, it is time for me to leave

again to his commander in chief, giving information of his loss. In this letter of the twentieth of October he says of the place which he had surrendered, "I never saw this post in a favorable light." The best excuse which can be made for the marquis on this occasion is, that he was suffering from the mortification which his misfortune must have produced, and we think that his whole conduct in Virginia may be best explained by supposing him to have yielded to the influence of some cause of irritation and vexation, which carried him from his duty. We do not mean however to imply by any thing which we have said, that we think sir Henry Clinton's conduct indicated consummate generalship, or even that it did not deserve much blame.

you." He proceeded to the table, took up the despatches, sent off the express, packed up his baggage, and quitted head-quarters.

"Although Washington took no measures to restore him to his family, yet he treated him with the highest respect; giving to him the command of a regiment of light infantry, which now formed a part of La Fayette's corps," vol. ii. p. 341. note.

We have mentioned that general Greene had retired with his army to the high hills of Santee. In this secure retirement he remained, till his troops were refreshed and restored to health, when he commenced the march of his army toward the encampment of the British. His progress was tedious, as he had to move far towards their sources to secure a safe passage over the rivers, which intervened between himself and his enemy; but having passed them, he advanced directly toward Orangeburgh, where the British had remained, since Lord Rawden had conducted them thither after the evacuation of Camden. Colonel Stuart, who was now the principal British officer, learning Greene's approach, retired for the purpose of meeting some supplies from Charleston to Eutaw Springs, but he had no expectation that he should be so soon overtaken by general Greene as he was. The American light troops encamped within eight miles of the enemy, and the whole army at seventeen miles distance, without any suspicion having been produced in the mind of colonel Stuart of their vicinity, although no efforts had been used to conceal their march. The Americans even arrived within four miles of his camp before they were discovered, and then commenced an engagement which continued three hours, and was the most fierce and well-contested battle that was fought during the southern campaigns. General Greene had gained great advantages and even obtained possession of the enemy's camp, when the British rallied under the fire from a brick house, which they had filled with their troops, and compelled the Americans to retire. But they were not pursued, although they were obliged to march several miles from the field of battle to obtain water. Immediately after the battle, colonel Stuart commenced a retreat toward Charleston, with such rapidity that Greene was unable to overtake him, which clearly evinced his own opinion of the effects of the con-

lost. The British army took post at Monk's Corner, not far from Charleston, while Greene again retired to the high hills of Santee, to restore his troops, overcome by their exertions and by the intense heat of the season. Thus at this propitious period did success crown the arms of the Americans in every quarter, and the hopes of the final termination of their sufferings from war were brighter than ever before.

All important warlike operations were now at an end. General Greene, sensible of the superiority which he had vindicated to himself at the battle of Eutaw, determined to act as the conqueror. With the intention of freeing the state of Georgia from its invaders, or at least of confining their control, he detached general Wayne towards Savannah, while he himself moved to the vicinity of Charleston, and soon succeeded in confining the enemy within the limits of the town. The garrison of Savannah was soon withdrawn, and Charleston was at last restored to the possession of the Americans, by a voluntary evacuation; for the prospect of immediate peace was a check upon all military enterprises. With the account of this event the work of general Lee concludes. The last part of it is agreeably filled with minute accounts of the small operations of the armies, and contains a somewhat interesting description of an intended expedition to John's Island.

We presume that we have now given our readers sufficient information, as to the narrative of the events of the war, which is contained in general Lee's work. We have also given several specimens of the numerous and valuable anecdotes by which it is enlivened. Of its style we think a correct opinion may be formed from the passages which we have quoted, and from the long extract which we have given in the former part of this number of the Repository. We cannot say that he is always judicious or correct in his use of words, or that he is at all times free from obscurity, but he has written in a manner, which we think will not fail to interest his reader. We have been pleased with the candor and modesty which he has displayed, in describing the characters of others, and in speaking of events in which he was personally engaged. Much of the value of his work consists in the acquaintance which it gives us with many

individuals; by means of anecdotes, which do not often find their way into more studied histories.

L Of his own military character he has induced us to form the most favorable opinion; or we should rather say that he has more deeply impressed that which other histories had given us. The excellent and active corps, of which he was at the head, the confidence, which appears to have been placed in him by general Greene, and the separate commands with which he was often entrusted, are testimonials of his merit. He has made good use of his personal experience to render his work entertaining, yet he is far from any thing like unpleasant self-obsession. His accounts, we have little doubt, are accurate and faithful. We have been at some pains to compare them, where the facts were the same, with those of several other writers of the best authority; and, when he has differed from these in any particulars, we have often been inclined from the circumstances of the case, to give the preference to his testimony. If we are in the opinion which we have now given of this work of general Lee, it must be that we speak too much in its praise. It is possible that we may be prejudiced in favor of the author, who has so much amused us, and of the man, who so faithfully served his country during our war, and who has lately excited additional interest by the courage with which he has exposed his life to the attacks of ruffian violence in the protection of our choicest civil privileges. But we need not hesitate to recommend this book to the attention of all, who wish for valuable information with respect to the history of our war, and interesting anecdotes concerning those who were engaged in it.

We cannot conclude our remarks without again expressing our wishes for a complete and philosophical history of the United States. There have been no events more worthy of the most ample commemoration than those relating to the American revolution, to the institution of our government, and the subsequent state of our country. Our nation was formed under the operation of feelings and principles, which were uncommonly free from the influence of those selfish and violent passions, by which great political changes are usually effected. Our government was established by the deliberate and uninfluenced



choice of the people. Such was its nature and the method of its formation, that the attention of philosophers was universally attracted, and the fancies of political visionaries seemed to be realized. Since we have been a nation, our prosperity has been wonderful and unexampled. Our population has been rapidly increased by emigrations from foreign nations, and our citizens have grown rich almost without exertion. But we have been inattentive to the preservation of those privileges, which were the securities of our public happiness; we have become indisposed to that exertion and those individual sacrifices, by which alone they could be maintained;—the power which was given to the multitude has been abused, and we are now wretched as a nation; perhaps even from the natural operation of a system, which was once thought to promise the perpetual enjoyment of every public blessing. What is the fate that now awaits our country cannot yet be determined. It is possible that the people may grow wiser by their sufferings—that peace may be restored to us, and that a measure of our former happiness may be again enjoyed. But the present state of our affairs may lead, and appears to be tending, to consequences of a very different nature. The spirit of our countrymen may be subdued, the inflexibility of our government may increase, our national independence may be virtually lost, and we may become still more degraded as a nation, than our late policy, and those late events, which every man who loves his native land has regarded with shame and humiliation, have yet been able to render us. Or it may be that when the spirit of corrupt ambition, and of unprincipled faction have gained more ascendancy and are more bitterly felt, the virtuous and patriotic may release themselves from the connexion with a government, which impoverishes, and degrades, and demoralizes its subjects, and cause the bonds which unite our country to be broken. Our fate, it is probable, will be soon determined.—A few years may give birth to events as momentous as those which marked the commencement of our national existence; but the struggles of the dismemberment of a nation, or its gradual decay and ruin will make a less uncommon picture in history, than the wisdom and virtue which formed our government, or the happiness which followed its just administration.

## ARTICLE 2.

*A view of the theories which have been proposed to explain the origin of meteoric stones. By Jeremiah Day, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Yale College. (From the Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. 2, Part 1.)\**

THIS paper gives a clear statement of the principal facts and opinions, and combats with much force and fairness the astronomically received theories, relating to the phenomena of meteoric stones.

That stones of a peculiar character have fallen to the earth from great heights, and that they have proceeded from a meteor-like appearance in the air, seems no longer to be denied or doubted. A luminous body of considerable magnitude and splendour appears in the atmosphere, moving with great velocity; on a sudden it bursts with a loud explosion, and a number of fragments descend toward the earth with a hissing noise, as of a rugged body passing rapidly through the air; something is heard to strike the ground in different places, search is made, the ground appears to have been recently broken and turned up, and at some depth hard semi-metallie masses, unlike any thing else in the neighbourhood, yet exactly agreeing among themselves, are found, in a heated state, and bearing evident marks of fusion; nay more, these stones are found lodged upon straw and light substances—they have penetrated the roofs of buildings, and killed animals that happened to be in their way—they have been in some instances followed by the eye, and actually seen to strike the ground at the distance of only a few yards from the observer. All this is attested by many witnesses at different times, and in different quarters of the world. This mass of evidence taken together is absolutely irresistible. The light seen that is omitted, the explosion that is heard, and the stones that have fallen, are all parts of the same phenomenon.

\* It was our intention to have given a review of the whole of the first part of this volume; but the length to which it would have extended prevents its insertion in the present number.

But sometimes the fall of stones is not known to take place, when all the other circumstances are essentially the same; a luminous object of a similar form and size, moving at a like rate, and at about the same height, and separating and disappearing in a similar manner, and followed by a similar report. Shall we not conclude then that this is a phenomenon of the same general class, especially as it is possible, that stones may have fallen in these cases, in such places as did not admit of their being observed, or that the substance of the stones may have been in some instances reduced to powder by the explosion, and diffused through the air.

There are other appearances also which fail of being accompanied with any audible sound, though alike in every thing else; this is still easier to account for. It may have been too distant—the actual report may have been less violent. Again, these bodies differ very much in their form, and size, and splendour. Though generally round, some are observed to be spheroidal, some oblong like an arm, with a knob at one end, some conical, and various other shapes. Some also are, to appearance, as large as the moon, and even much larger, while others are smaller, and of all sizes intermediate between that of the moon and a large star. That they should differ in brilliancy and quantity of light is a natural consequence of their different distances and altitudes. Indeed, all these varieties and defective circumstances may be explained in perfect consistency with their general character. They agree remarkably in all those points, which seem to determine their nature—they are always seen in or near our atmosphere—they appear but for a short time—their motion is inconceivably rapid, in a direction nearly parallel to the horizon—they emit light independently of the sun. And it is remarkable to observe, how those common occurrences, called shooting stars, resemble the larger meteors in several other particulars. They appear suddenly, and are suddenly extinguished, and often with the evident marks of an explosion, small sparks being seen to fly off, and smoke remaining behind, and sometimes indeed a faint sound has been heard, which was supposed to proceed from that explosion. And indeed the principal difference observed, variety of magnitude and splen-

dor, is more apparent and imposing than real and characteristic. It is just what we note in other bodies, comets for instance, which are notwithstanding considered as belonging to the same class. Nay, it is just what ought to take place, and what is a necessary consequence of a diversity of magnitude or distance, and a variety of elevation, and of course difference of density in the medium, whence the light is supposed to be derived. It is then perhaps most reasonable to conclude, that those meteors which are attended with the fall of stones, and those which are defective as far as we know in this particular, and those small objects that are flying across our sky in great numbers every night, are all phenomena of the same kind, and are to be explained in the same way. In the examination of the theories which have been proposed, it may be proper to consider them with reference to all this variety of character, and frequency of occurrence.\*

\* The very great resemblance among these meteors becomes more striking when we compare them with those curious appearances called *ignes fatui*, wills with a wisp, and Jacks with a lantern. These are seen more frequently in rainy and snowy weather, and in damp places; and generally about six feet from the ground. They appear to have no heat, as the places they frequent, though containing combustible materials, are never found to exhibit any marks of fire. They continue for a long time, and though they are in motion, their motion is various and uncertain, as if produced by the agitation of the air. Some appear as large as a common candle, others give as much light as a torch. They resemble both in light and color a flame, strong enough to reflect lustre on surrounding objects. They change their size and figure, sometimes spreading themselves pretty wide, and then contracting again; sometimes they appear to break into two, and then meet again; sometimes they float like waves, letting drop sparks of fire; sometimes they disappear suddenly, and appear again in another place. It is thought by some that they are made to flee before one by the motion of the air. Sir Thomas Dereham, seeing one in a calm, clear, dark night, with gentle approaches, got up within two or three yards of it, and viewed it with all possible care. He found it frisking about a dead thistle, standing in the field, till a small motion of the air made it skip to another place, and thence to another. He was satisfied that it was not the glowing vapour. In Italy the country people call them *cuculi*—perhaps from a fancied similitude to those birds, and because they consider them as birds, the belly and other parts of which are resplendent, like our shining flies. Their light has been supposed by some to be derived from inflammable air, set on fire by electricity; by others to be of a phosphoric nature. Some

Before following Mr. Day in his examination of hypotheses, we shall state a few general facts, and recite a few particular cases, in order that we may be better prepared to judge of the attempts that have been made to explain them.

It seems to be well ascertained that these phenomena are restricted to no region of the earth, to no season of the year, to no time of the day, and in their course to no point of the compass. It has been remarked; however, that they have generally occurred in fair weather, when there have been few clouds

of their phenomena are not very easy to be explained on either supposition. A very accurate and skilful observer of natural appearances, during the month of March, as he approached a river near Bologna, perceived a light, which shone very strongly on some stones that lay on the banks. "It seemed to be about two feet above the stones, and not far from the water of the river: in figure and size it had the appearance of a parallelopiped, somewhat above a Bolognese foot in length, and about half a foot high, its longest side laying parallel to the horizon: its light was very strong, inasmuch that he could very plainly distinguish by it part of a neighbouring hedge, and the water in the river. The gentleman's curiosity tempted him to examine it a little nearer; in order to which, he advanced gently towards the place, but was surprised to find, that insensibly it changed from a bright red to a yellowish, and then to a pale colour, in proportion as he drew nearer, and that when he came to the place itself, it was quite vanished. On this he stepped back, and not only saw it again, but found that the farther he went from it, the stronger and brighter it grew: nor could he, on narrowly viewing the place where this fiery appearance was, perceive the least blackness, or smell, or any mark of an actual fire. The same observation was confirmed by another gentleman, who frequently travels that way, and who asserted, that he had seen the very same light five or six different times, in Spring and Autumn, and that he had always observed it in the very same shape and the same place, which seems very difficult to be accounted for. He said further, that once he took particular notice of its coming out of a neighbouring place, and then settling itself into the figure above described." *Phil. Trans. Abr. vol. vii. p. 374, &c.*

The common meteors, called fireballs, shooting stars, &c. appear to be sufficiently distinct from the northern lights, although there is a reading notice sometimes observed attending both, and not very unlike. Bergman makes the average height of the northern lights, upon a mean of thirty computations, to be about four hundred and fifty miles English. It is remarkable however that a large portion of these meteors appear to come from the north. The ancients also describe them as coming more frequently from this quarter. "*Ideo circa septentrionem frequentissime apparent in his partibus est eis pignus.*" *Cicero. Quest. Nat. lib. vii.*

and little or no wind. We recollect no exception. They are generally of a globular form, often pretty well defined, of all apparent dimensions and degrees of brilliancy less than those of the moon, and sometimes even compared to the sun in point of light. They are often surrounded with scintillations, and followed by a train of various lengths. They appear to move with great rapidity, and generally in a continued curve nearly horizontal, but inclined a little downward. They continue in sight but for a short time. Except in a few very rare instances of a duration of fifteen or twenty minutes, so far as we are acquainted, they have been seen at most for two or three minutes and generally for less than one. They are often observed through an extent of several hundred miles, and their altitudes have been computed to be from one to eighty or an hundred miles. This point is pretty well ascertained within certain limits, not only from the circumstance of their being seen at a considerable apparent altitude at places remote from each other, but these estimates are confirmed by observations that are made by different persons differently situated, of the interval that elapses between the appearance of an explosion, and the actual hearing of a report not otherwise to be accounted for. It is evident then, that the real magnitudes of these bodies must be very considerable, in some instances not less than two or three miles, and in all incomparably greater than any of those masses which have been known to reach the earth, or than all put together which in any case have been actually found or can be supposed to have fallen. It is evident also from the apparent velocity and the known distance, that the real velocity must be astonishingly great. In several instances that have been particularly attended to, it must have been not less than two or three miles in a second; that is, five or six times the greatest rate of a cannon ball; and in one or two remarkable cases it has been computed to be even ten or twelve times this quantity.\*

\* We have collected, principally from the Philosophical Transactions, the following estimates of the duration, altitude, and velocity of different meteors. They were determined by different persons. Some may be depended upon as pretty near the truth, others are more uncertain.

Duration, in seconds 3, 10, 12, 25, 30, 60, nearly 60, one 15 minutes, and one 30 minutes.

Dr. Blagden gives an account of a meteor,\* which appeared on the eighteenth of August, 1783. He describes it as a luminous ball pearly round. It however soon became elliptical, and gradually assumed a tail as it ascended, and in a certain part of its course seemed to undergo a remarkable change compared to bursting; after which it proceeded no longer as an entire mass, but was apparently divided into a cluster of balls of different magnitudes, and all carrying or leaving a train behind, till having passed the east and verging considerably to the south, it gradually descended, and was lost out of sight. The time of its appearance was about sixteen minutes past nine in the evening, and it was visible about half a minute. It was seen in all parts of Great Britain, at Paris, at Nuits in Burgundy, and probably at Rome, and it is supposed to have described a tract of one thousand miles at least over the surface of the earth. It appears to have burst and reunited several times. This change in it corresponds with the period in which it suffered a deviation from its course. The height seems to have varied from fifty five to sixty miles. Its bulk is conjectured to have been not less than half a mile in diameter, and its velocity at least twenty miles in a second.

A very remarkable meteor appeared in England November 26, 1758, of which a very circumstantial account, collected from different persons, is given by Dr. John Pringle.† Dur-

Altitudes, in miles  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{3}{4}$ ,  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , 3, 11, 18, 26, 31, 38, 41, 42, 54, 56 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 60, 70, 80, 87, 90, 115, 138, 171.

Velocity per second, in miles  $2\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $2\frac{3}{4}$ , 3, 6, 6, 12, 17, 18, 18, 20, 20, 28, 30.

The magnitudes have seldom been determined with any degree of precision. Dr. Rittenhouse observed one, whose diameter he computed to be not less than two miles. Trans. Amer. Phil. Soc. vol. ii. p. 175. Dr. Pangle estimates the diameter of one, that was observed by a great number of persons, to be not less than half a mile. Ph. Tr. vol. li. p. 218, &c. Dr. Blagden remarks upon one, that its longest diameter was between one and two miles, "and almost half a mile across." Ph. Tr. vol. lxxiv. p. 216. Cavallo computed the diameter of one to be one thousand and seventy yards, or about three fifths of a mile. Ph. Tr. vol. lxxiv. p. 108. Mr. Bowditch one, as will appear hereafter, at not less than four hundred and ninety one feet.

\* Phil. Trans. vol. lxxiv. p. 201, &c.

† Phil. Trans. vol. li. p. 218, &c.

ing the first part of its progress viz. from Cambridge to Fort William, in a course almost N.W. by N. it went obliquely downward in such a manner, that by computation, it must have been from about ninety to one hundred miles high at the first of these places, and between twenty six and thirty two at the last, where it suddenly disappeared. But, notwithstanding this apparent extinction, it seems still to have proceeded northward, since it was again seen in a luminous state, in a globular form, but without a tail, which it had before, about the 58° of latitude, on the western shore of the shire of Ross, almost vertical to the observer. Its height at this place could not be determined, as only one observation was obtained. But from its apparent size, seen nearly in the zenith, compared with its former magnitude, Dr. Pringle concludes that it had reascended after passing Fort William. "This dipping and rising," observes Dr. Pringle, "of the course of the meteor, is not more extraordinary than its lateral deviation from a straight line; for when observed in the shire of Ross, it was moving to the southward of east, in a direction nearly contrary to the first. In regard to the velocity," says he, "it seems almost incredible, as we have sufficient data for computing it at the rate of thirty miles in a second." Different estimates of the magnitude varied from half a mile to two miles. This meteor was observed by a farmer in the village of Ancran. Just as he was entering his house, "the whole side of the house became suddenly enlightened with a brightness as of the sun." He turned round, and saw a globe of fire, about the size of the crown of his cap, moving with great swiftness. Soon one third toward the small end broke off, and separated into sparks of fire resembling stars, and immediately vanished. Soon after the remaining body vanished also, and the former darkness returned. After he had been in the house about five minutes, he heard a loud noise, like a clap of thunder, of some continuance. Some one observed, there was thunder; he said that it could not be, for that he had seen no clouds, when he was out. On this he went out again, and found no clouds, but bright star light. It is easy to perceive by the known velocity of sound, that this meteor must have been more than sixty miles off. There are oth-



er instances in which the sound from an explosion of a meteor has been heard at still greater distances,\* and compared to loud thunder, to the discharge of cannon and mortars. It has even been attended with the shaking of glass and doors, and with a slight agitation of the ground like an earthquake.† It must of course greatly exceed every other sound with which we are acquainted.

The account of the meteor which burst over Weston in Connecticut in December, 1807, by Professors Silliman and King, is too well known, and too highly valued, to require from us any extracts or comment.

We are indebted to Mr. Bowditch also for some very interesting results deduced from observations of this meteor, and it is particularly gratifying to receive so much substantial information from data apparently so loose and uncertain. From Mr. Bowditch's calculation it appears, that "*the course of the meteor was about S. 70° W. in a direction nearly parallel to the horizon, and at the height of about eighteen miles.*" These points," Mr. Bowditch observes, "appear to be ascertained to a considerable degree of accuracy. The time elapsed," he continues, "between the disappearance of the meteor, and hearing the three loud reports at Weston, which, according to the estimates of different observers, was at least sixty seconds, serves in a degree to confirm the accuracy of the estimated altitude of the meteor. For the velocity of sound being 1142 feet in a second, the distance corresponding to 60 seconds is  $60 \times 1142 = 68520$  feet, or 13 miles nearly; consequently the height must have exceeded 13 miles." The magnitude of the meteor could not be determined with so much accuracy, as the computation

\* Brydone relates, that when riding one evening, he observed a meteor burst, and looked immediately at his watch, expecting soon to hear a report, but after waiting five minutes, he gave over; when in little more than a minute after, "he was stunned by a loud and heavy explosion." He computed the distance to be sixty six miles.

† Dr. T. Short gives an account of a ball of fire which was seen at Venice, and over Kilkenny in Ireland, and which burst with an explosion that shook a great part of the island, and seemed to set the hemisphere on fire.

must depend upon the apparent diameter, which was not measured, but was estimated by the different observers by comparing it with that of the moon. The mean of all these estimates, taking into consideration also the distances of the observers, would make the real diameter of the meteor about half a mile, and the diameter corresponding to the smallest estimate, it appears, would be no less than four hundred and ninety one feet. "A body of this magnitude," observes Mr. Bowditch, "and of the same specific gravity as the stone, which fell at Weston, would contain a quantity of matter exceeding in weight six millions of tons. If the specific gravity were the same; as that of the air at the surface of the earth, the quantity of matter would exceed two thousand tons, and if the specific gravity were the same as that of the air at the height of the meteor (which by the usual rule of barometrical admeasurement is about one thirty eighth part of that at the surface of the earth,) the quantity of matter would exceed fifty tons. Either of these estimates exceeds by far the weight of the whole mass, which fell near Weston, which, by the accounts published, does not appear to be greater than half a ton, and would not form a sphere of two feet diameter of the same specific gravity as the stone. "A body of this size," it is further remarked, "would hardly be visible, without the assistance of a telescope, at Wenham," a distance of about an hundred and fifty miles, where it was not only seen, but involuntarily, compared to the moon.\*

Observations have lately been made in Germany by two persons, situated about ten English miles apart, for the purpose of ascertaining the height and velocity of shooting stars. They were found to vary in altitude from eighteen to one hundred and thirty eight miles, and the velocities of two were estimated at eighteen and twenty eight English miles in a second. One at the distance of four hundred and fifty miles appeared brighter than Jupiter. One was computed to be forty nine miles high, at the beginning of its apparent course, and fifty two at the end, the distance passed over being about seven†

\* *Memoirs Am. Acad.* vol. iii. p. 213. &c.

† *Young's Lect. on Nat. Phil.* vol. ii. p. 500, &c.

There is one important fact, which remains to be mentioned, and that is, the striking uniformity which exists among all those meteoric stones, which have been the subject of examination; that stones, which have fallen in England, France, Germany, Italy, India, and America, and at times very remote from each other, should, upon examination, be found to have nearly the same specific gravity, to consist of the same simple substances, combined in a similar manner, and in nearly the same proportions, is truly surprising, and seems, as has been frequently observed, strongly to indicate a common origin.

Of the nature and origin of these singular phenomena, various explanations have been given. Professor Day states three, with his objections.

"One hypothesis," he observes, "is this; that the materials, of which the meteoric stones are composed, are raised into the air in the state of exhalations or gasses—that in the upper regions of the atmosphere they are occasionally collected in great abundance—that some of them being inflammable, a combustion takes place—and that the particles of the whole, by their mutual attractions, rush together and form a mass, which descends by its weight to the ground."

To this supposition it is objected, that several of the ingredients of which these bodies are composed are not known to be capable of assuming a gaseous state; that did they exist in the atmosphere "contrary to all our experience," and in sufficient quantities to form such masses, and at elevations, which must, in many instances, deprive them of nearly all support from the surrounding air; still it is no less difficult to conceive, what power there is in the atmosphere to give them a velocity exceeding two or three hundred times the most violent wind,\* and in a direction nearly perpendicular to the line of the operation of gravity. In addition to these arguments, Professor Day urges the very great probability that the main body of the meteor, a solid, compact, gravitating mass, does not in fact fall to the earth, but after throwing off a few fragments keeps on its

\* The wind in the most violent storm does not exceed one hundred feet in a second.

course. Now we think this, if true, a very important fact; but one which requires more proof than we are yet furnished with, before it can be brought as an objection to an hypothesis. Beside, we do not see what weight there is in it, as respects the hypothesis under consideration, distinct from what had been before stated. If the body in question can be formed in the atmosphere and receive the direction and velocity observed, all the rest may follow as a natural consequence.

It is no less manifest that these bodies cannot have originated from volcanoes on the earth, which is the second hypothesis mentioned by Professor Day, not only from their being unlike those substances, which are thrown from volcanoes, but especially from the remoteness of the places where they are observed to fall, "at the distance of several hundreds or thousands of miles from any known volcanoes." Nay, the thing is physically impossible, as the Professor has intimated, no power being sufficient to throw a body from the surface of the earth, which shall retain, at so great an elevation, to say nothing of the distance, such a prodigious velocity in so unnatural a direction.

Another theory brought forward and opposed in this dissertation is that very bold one, which refers the origin of these stones to the moon. We can think of nothing but the wildness and extravagance of this suggestion to recommend it, unless it be the insufficiency of every other. Yet it has found very able supporters. We do not know who first started it. It seems to be of considerable antiquity. It has lately been revived by Olbers and La Place. The Editors of the late abridgement of the Philosophical Transactions have entered into somewhat of an elaborate, though we think, feeble defence of it; and the Edinburgh Reviewers, in a valuable article on this subject, although evidently unwilling to commit themselves, betray no small partiality for an hypothesis, which, if well founded, promises to open so unexpected a communication with our neighbouring planet, and they can hardly forbear to anticipate some of the fruits of so interesting a correspondence.

It seems, that there are some bright specks observed upon the moon's disk, which, to the fanciful eye of Dr. Herschel, assume the appearance of floods of hot lava, somewhat obscured

indeed now and then by ashes, but three or four miles in extent, and surrounding a crater two or three miles in diameter. There are also other phenomena, which exhibit strong marks of a volcanic character. Now it is found that a velocity at the moon's surface of about four or five times that of a cannon ball,\* directed toward the earth, would be sufficient to throw off a body from the moon into the sphere of the earth's superior attraction; and of course to transport it with the aid of terrestrial gravity to the surface of the earth. Volcanoes exhibit proofs of very great power, a power perhaps equal to what is here supposed, and it is safely presumed, that the moon's atmosphere would oppose but a small resistance.

If it be admitted that there are no physical objections to this hypothesis, still we think it is apparent from the difficulties stated in this paper, that it is not very easy to be reconciled with the most common and well attested facts.

The mention of one or two will be sufficient. How will this hypothesis account for the very great horizontal velocity of these meteors? The editors of the *Philosophical Transactions* abridged† attempt to explain this on the supposition, that

\* Biot makes the initial velocity, at the moon's surface, requisite to project a body beyond the point of equal attraction, five times that of a cannon ball. It has been computed that one of these bodies of a moderate size would, after traversing the earth's atmosphere, retain a velocity of about two hundred feet in a second. A body falling from infinite space toward the earth, would have acquired a velocity of no more than seven miles in a second, when it came within fifty miles of the earth's surface.

† A long note is subjoined to a paper of Dr. Halley's on meteors in the *Phil. Trans. abr. vol. vii, p. 100*, in which the lunar theory of the origin of meteoric stones is defended. The mistake above alluded to, with regard to the moon's being at rest relatively to the earth's motion in her orbit, is noticed by Professor Day. The writer of this note also supposes that a stone projected from the moon would enter our atmosphere with very little diminution of its original heat, on account of the space passed through being nearly a vacuum, and that this part of the atmosphere, consisting chiefly of inflammable gas, would be suddenly inflamed. Now we do not know what right we have to make these suppositions. It seems, that a vacuum is not a perfect nonconductor of caloric, and as the stone must probably occupy about a week<sup>4</sup> in passing, it would be likely to part with a considerable portion of its heat: Beside, if the supposed gas be pure hy-

the moon does not accompany the earth in her annual revolution round the sun, that the apparent motion of the meteor is to be referred to the real motion of the earth in her orbit; and after a very loose and inaccurate sort of calculation seem very prematurely to triumph in the exact agreement of their conclusions with the known phenomena. But putting the velocity out of the question, the course which these bodies are sometimes seen to take is altogether inexplicable upon this hypothesis; that of the Weston meteor, as well as some others, which are considered as determined within a few degrees of the truth, being nearly perpendicular to the ecliptic.\*

There is another fact, and it is one which admits of the least dispute of any, that seems hitherto to have been overlooked, but which we cannot help considering as of some importance. We mean the places where these bodies are found. It will not, we presume, be pretended that a body, thrown from the moon, can be supposed to come within the limits of the earth's superior attraction *very wide* from the plane of the moon's orbit. What then will be the course of this body, retaining the progressive motion of the moon equal to about forty miles in a minute, supposing it not to be materially affected now by the volcanic force? If it incline toward the earth and revolve round it in a kind of spiral, it must revolve round its centre of gravity and nearly in the plane of the moon's orbit, and if it ever strike the earth, it must strike it, one would think, somewhere near this plane. How then

drogen, which seems to be intimated by referring to its lightness, it is well known that "all burning substances, plunged into this gas, are immediately extinguished." If it be supposed that there is the proper mixture of gasses, and a heat sufficient to inflame them, it is difficult to conceive, why the combustion should not extend through the whole hemisphere. But so far as we are able to learn from experiments upon air brought from the height of several miles, it appears to be composed throughout of the same elements and in the same proportions. The American Editors of Dr. Rees's New Cyclopedia have carefully preserved in an abstract the objectionable parts of this note, which they ascribe, we do not know upon what authority, to Dr. Hutton. See Am. Ed. of Dr. Rees's Cycop. Art. *Balls of Fire*.

\* It has been remarked that the courses of twenty out of forty meteors, described in the Philosophical Transactions, were near the meridian.

shall we account, upon this hypothesis, for the fall of stones in latitudes as high as  $40^{\circ}$ ,  $50^{\circ}$ , and even  $60^{\circ}$ . Take, for instance, the meteor, which exploded over Weston in Connecticut, in latitude about  $41^{\circ} 13'$ . As the moon can never depart more than about  $36^{\circ}$  from the equator, what power is there to carry the body in question six or seven hundred miles out of the plane, passing through the earth and moon's centres in the direction of the moon's motion, and out of the line of operation of any known adequate force? Nay, there must have been a force sufficient to carry the body entirely round the pole, through more than  $100^{\circ}$  of latitude, from the opposite hemisphere; or, which is much more inconceivable, there must have been two forces, one to bring it from the tropical region toward the north, and another to transport it back again, (its direction, it will be recollected, was nearly south and nearly horizontal,) and this at the rate of two hundred miles in a minute, a velocity exceeding, at least a hundred times, the most violent wind, and at a time when the sky was serene and the air, at the surface of the earth under the course of the meteor, tranquil.

Mr. Day having attempted, and we think successfully, to show the insufficiency of the commonly received hypotheses on this subject, undertakes to support one, the suggestion of which he ascribes to the Rev. Thomas Clap, formerly President of Yale college, and who appears to have been very well versed in subjects of this nature. This theory supposes that these meteors are no other than "terrestrial comets, that their size, and the periods of their revolutions, are proportioned to the comparative smallness of the primary body, about which they revolve; that, like the solar comet, they fly off in very elliptical orbits; and during the greatest part of their circuit are too far distant to be visible—that in their approach to the earth they fall within our atmosphere—that by the friction of the air they are heated and highly electrified—that the electricity is discharged with a violent report—that they then move off in their orbits, and by their great velocity are carried out of sight."

This theory appears to us more ingenious and philosophical, than any of the foregoing. Indeed the resemblance between these meteors and comets is so striking, and they

were formerly so often confounded, that we are surprized that the idea of their being allied to each other has not more frequently occurred. And it is no small recommendation of this theory, that it accommodates itself so readily to the case of those large meteors which are not known to be attended with any explosion,\* or with the fall of substances to the earth, and to that of shooting stars, which may be observed in considerable numbers almost every night, as well as to those more rare and striking cases to which the attention appears to have been too much limited. This theory also points directly to the fact, which is undoubtedly the most remarkable, and the most uniformly observed, and the most inexplicable upon other hypotheses; we mean the very great horizontal velocity, directed toward all points of the compass. It may derive some support also from other considerations, not immediately connected with the subject. We observe that nature, though liberal in every thing, is prodigal of nothing. On our globe, and as far as our observation extends, there is the strictest economy, there is no room left to waste, which could have been improved, there is no fragment of her materials, which is not converted to some purpose. Every part of the earth, the air, and the sea, are crowded with tenants, accommodated to their situation. Now it cannot but strike every one, that according to common opinion there is a vast deal of waste room in the solar system, and that this portion of space is cut to very great disadvantage. The planets, especially the superior ones, are at immense distances from each other. To be sure, this space is in part filled with satellites; but these occupy but a very small part of the interval; and there is ample space left for a system of small comets to play round each of the planets, without interfering with each other's motions, or materially disturbing the motions of the satellites; more especially if their orbits were inclined at large angles with the ecliptic; and thus we should be provided with a system of bodies to visit with light and joy the otherwise dark and desolate regions of space. Beside, we have been obliged again and again to acknowledge the mistakes that we

\* Out of fifty meteors twenty seven gave no signs of an explosion. *Fulda.*



are apt to fall into, in the contracted notions, which we at first form of the extent and number of those objects, which surround us. The universe, at first, consisted of the sun, and moon, and a few stars, next the planets were added, and after many centuries some of these planets were found, very much to the surprise of every one, to be attended with satellites; at length we were compelled to admit another planet into the system, which had remained so long unaltered; and now, very lately, four more, and in the very place where they were wanted; that is, where there was the most room for them. But before going so far after arguments in support of this beautiful theory, we ought first to see how it will suit the circumstances of the case to be explained.

There are difficulties respecting the production of light, heat, and sound, as Professor Day readily admits, which are not very satisfactorily solved by this hypothesis. Indeed we are unable to conceive how flame, or ignition, is kept up and sound propagated at elevations of fifty and an hundred miles, where the air must be, at the former height, at least sixteen thousand and at the latter more than two hundred million times rarer than at the surface of the earth. That the friction of a body, moving in a medium so rare, is sufficient to heat a gross compound of earth and metal to a red or white heat, or to collect electricity faster than it could fly off in an atmosphere so highly rarified, may, for aught we know, be true. But we know of no facts or principles to justify or countenance the supposition.

These difficulties, it must be confessed, are not peculiar to the hypothesis under consideration, nor are they such as ought to be considered insuperable obstacles to its admission; if it could be fully made out, that the direction and velocity of meteors correspond to those of bodies revolving in regular orbits, and that they are in fact solid, gravitating masses, which, though they may sometimes send off a few fragments, continue on their course. This, as we have before mentioned, seems to be considered as a settled point by Professor Day, because "the luminous object," if it consisted "*principally* of flame or vapour, could not preserve a regular, globular figure,

while moving through the atmosphere with a velocity twenty times as great as that of sound, but would be immediately dissipated;" and because the body of the meteor, after making ample allowance for exaggeration, surprize, &c. "will remain vastly larger than any, which has been known to fall to the earth." Now we acknowledge that very great weight is due to these arguments, and we should not hesitate to admit the conclusion, did it not involve us in greater difficulties than those we seek to avoid.

The very great velocity and regular outline of meteors, we allow, seem altogether incompatable with the supposition that they are gaseous bodies. But is there no other alternative? How are we to account for the absence of large masses, in those cases, where meteors have actually fallen to the earth, of which we have several upon record? Mr. Barham relates,\* that riding out one morning in Jamaica, he saw a ball of fire, about the size of a bomb, swiftly falling down with a great blaze. "When I came to the place where it fell, says he, I found many people gathered together, admiring the ground's being strangely broken up and ploughed by the ball of fire, which they said had fallen down there. I observed there were many holes in the ground, one in the middle of the bigness of a man's head, and five or six smaller round it, and so deep as not to be fathomed by such implements as were at hand. All the green herbage was burnt up near the holes, and there continued a strong smell of sulphur near the place for some time." Upon search being made afterward, it is said by another, no stones were found.

We give the following on the authority of Dr. Gregory† "Admiral Chambers, on board the Montague, November 4, 1749, was taking an observation just before noon, when, on directing his eye to the windward, he observed a large ball of blue fire about three miles distance from them. They immediately lowered the topsails, but it came so fast upon them, that, before they could raise the main tack, they observed the ball rise almost perpendicularly, and not above forty or fifty yards from the main chains, when it went off with an explosion, as

\* Phil. Trans. vol. xxx. p. 837.

† Gregory's Dict. Art. *Meteors*.

great as if hundreds of cannon had been discharged at the same time, leaving behind it a strong sulphurous smell. By this explosion, the main top-mast was shattered in pieces, and the main mast rent quite down to the keel. Five men were knocked down, and one of them much bruised. Just before the explosion, the ball seemed to be of the size of a large mill-stone."

It is related that a meteor fell in Northhamptonshire and penetrated three feet into a gravelly soil, and that a man was killed, by what was called the lightning, and that his body exhibited marks of electricity.\* We have also an account of a large fire ball, which is said to have fallen lately in India, and to have burned five villages, destroying the crops, and killing some of the inhabitants.†

These do not appear to be the effects of a solid compact body, heated and electrified by passing through the atmosphere. In some of these accounts, and particularly of that observed at sea, we could scarcely have failed to have learned something more, had the luminous object been a hard heavy mass. The rapidity of the motion, the light, colour, explosion, and sulphurous smell, seem to be strong indications of the presence of electricity. We have been frequently reminded beside, in reading these accounts, of a remarkable phenomenon, which is sometimes observed during a thunder-storm; and in one instance, been accidentally imitated by artificial electricity. We speak of lightning descending upon houses and conductors in a globular form, and sometimes perforating timber and making holes in the ground. The experiment with an electrical apparatus is related by Cavallo,‡ as having been performed by Mr. Arden, with a good electrical machine, connected with a large jar. After turning sometime he perceived, as also another gentleman who was with him, *a ball of fire much resembling a red hot bullet*, and full three quarters of an inch in diameter, ascending up the side of a small glass tube, that was suspended in the jar, and turning on its axis; at the same time, having reached the top, it began to descend, till it was concealed by the top of the coating. Soon

\* Phil. Trans. vol. xxxiii. p. 367.

† Phil. Mag. for 1811.

‡ Cavallo's complete treatise of Electricity, vol. ii. p. 225.

§ A few meteors have had an apparent motion round their axes. *Fulde.*

after, the machine being continued in action, "a very great flash was seen, a large explosion was heard, and strong smell of sulphur was perceived; a round aperture was cut through the side of the jar, rather more than three quarters of an inch in diameter, and the coating torn off for three or four inches round the aperture."

There are several other circumstances related of meteors, not very conformable to analogy, or to the laws of a revolving body. Without mentioning their changes of figure and variety of shapes, their separating into several parts and moving on near each other, and then uniting again, as asserted by observers; we would refer particularly to their moving in an irregular curve. This appears to have taken place in several of the most remarkable. "This dipping and rising," says Dr. Pringle,\* "of the course of the meteor, is not more extraordinary than its lateral deviation from a straight line; for when observed in the shire of Ross, it was moving to the southward of east, in a direction nearly contrary to the first." Cavallo† relates the following of a meteor, that appeared January 15, 1784. "At this moment the body of the meteor appeared of an oblong form, but it presently acquired a tail, and soon after it parted into several bodies, each having a tail, and all moving in the same direction at a small distance from each other, and very little behind the primitive body, the size of which was gradually reduced after the division.—Its course in this direction was very short, perhaps 5° or 6°, after which it turned itself toward the east." Its former course is described as "in an oblique direction toward the east." Of a meteor which appeared August 18, 1783, it is stated, by Alexander Aubert, Esq.‡ "that it moved at first almost in a vertical direction, *changing its size and figure continually*, having to me," says he, "all the appearances of successive inflammations, and not of a solid body. It was sometimes round, at others oval and oblong, with its longest diameter in the line of its motion. I recollect an appearance," he continues, "which confirms me in the idea I had of its not being a solid body. In its progress it did not describe as reg-

\* See p. 146.

† Phil. Trans. vol. lxxiv. p. 108.

‡ Ibid p. 113.

ular a curve, as might have been expected from such a body, but seemed to move in somewhat of a waving line."

We do not know what explanation is to be given of these phenomena, upon the supposition, that meteors are solid bodies. It will hardly be said, that the explosion on the surface is sufficient to change the direction of a heavy mass, a mile in diameter, and moving with a velocity forty or fifty times that of a cannon ball, and to give it an equal velocity in nearly a contrary direction. But there is another fact related of many of these meteors, which, if it is to be relied upon, seems to put the point beyond dispute, and this is the very great velocity, observed in so many instances, and so often remarked upon.

"The *velocity* of the meteor," observes Mr. Day, "corresponds with the motion of a terrestrial comet, passing through the atmosphere in an elliptical orbit. A body moving near the earth, with a velocity less than three hundred miles in a minute, must fall to its surface by the power of gravitation. If it move in a direction parallel to the horizon, more than four hundred and thirty miles in a minute, it will fly off in the curve of an hyperbola; and will never return, unless disturbed in its motion by some other body besides the earth. Within these two limits of three hundred miles on the one hand, and of four hundred and thirty on the other, (some allowance being made for the resistance of the air and the motion of the earth,) the body will revolve in an ellipse returning in regular periods." We wish Mr. Day had furnished us with the particulars whence he draws the general conclusion, that this velocity "has generally been estimated to be rather more than three hundred miles in a minute." Mr. C. F. Fulda,\* in a memoir read to the Physical Society of Gottingen, December 7, 1796, states a case, upon what he seems to consider as good authority, in which the velocity was estimated at fifteen hundred and thirty feet per second; that is, less than eighteen miles per minute; and he considers the velocity as varying between this quantity and thirty miles per second, or eighteen hundred per minute. Dr. Young† says, that the velocity of these meteors is commonly twenty miles per second,

\* Phil. Mag. vol. iii. p. 66.

† Lectures on Nat. Phil. vol. i. p. 721.

or twelve hundred per minute. Upon recurring to the records of the most remarkable meteors, we find few whose rate of moving falls within the prescribed limits. Out of twelve cases, which we have collected, and they are all that we have met with, only two answer the conditions required. In these cases the estimated velocities were 150, 160, 180, 348, 350, 720, 1000, 1080, 1080, 1200, 1680, 1800\* miles in a minute. It is true, that many of these may be very uncertain, but with respect to others there can be little doubt, after making allowance for every probable mistake, that the velocity is two or three times too great to consist with a revolving body. "In regard to the velocity," says Dr. Pringle, speaking of the meteor of 1756, "it seems almost incredible, as we have sufficient data for computing it at the rate of thirty English miles in a second." Of the velocity of the meteor of 1783, the several estimates, according to Dr. Blagden, as deduced from the observations of different persons in different places, are twenty, twenty one, thirty, and forty miles in a second. Now it is found that the utmost velocity,† which a body can acquire, not merely by revolving round the earth within prescribed limits, but by falling directly from infinite space to within fifty miles of the earth's surface, is only about seven miles in a second. How then are we to explain these velocities and those of a large majority of meteors that have been observed? Let these velocities be reduced one half, and they are equally unaccountable, equally repugnant to the principles of mechanical philosophy.

There is another hypothesis which has lately made its appearance, we believe, since the paper under review was written. This places the origin of these mysterious substances far beyond the moon. In order to understand it, it must be recollected that the four new planets, which have been lately discovered, form a most remarkable exception to the analogy which pervades the rest of the system. They are not only of a most

\* These are the same as those before-mentioned, p. 145. note, with the numbers altered to correspond to one minute.

† See Blagden's remarks upon President Claps theory. Phil. Trans. vol. lxxiv. p. 224.

‡ New Edinburgh Encyclopædia, vol. ii. part ii. p. 302.

diminutive size, but they are all of them situated at nearly the same mean distance from the sun, and have nearly the same periods of revolution. Several of them differ also very materially from the other planets in the form and position of their orbits. To account for these remarkable anomalies, one who is conversant with such subjects will feel himself almost compelled to seek for some particular cause; and one was soon suggested, which is rendered, it may be thought, in no small degree probable, from the very wonderful manner in which it applies itself to the solution of difficulties of so various and different a character. This is no other, than that these four small bodies originally composed one planet, of the same rank and character with the other large planets, but that they were severed from each other by some violent convulsion, and made to describe different orbits, variously inclined and modified. The smaller fragments, in conformity to this theory, yielding more to the internal force, would be likely to diverge more from the original path, and become more excentric, and oblique in the figure and position of their orbits, than the remaining larger portions, which would keep nearer to their former course. Now this is a mere description of facts, so far as our observation yet extends. The hypothesis explains the peculiar phenomena of these planets in the most surprising manner. This then being admitted, we are prepared to give a new account of the origin of meteoric stones, better suited to some of their phenomena, and perhaps not less suited to all, than any of the opinions we have been examining. The bursting of this large planet must inevitably be attended with the separation of innumerable small fragments of all sizes, which must be thrown with great violence in all manner of directions. Some of these being removed out of the reach of the larger fragments of the planet, after wandering about some time in the celestial spaces, would begin to feel the influence of some neighbouring planet, and after revolving about it some time, and falling within its atmosphere, would at length come to a termination of their long journey upon the surface of the attracting body. And in case Mars happened to be in a remote part of its orbit, our earth would stand a chance to catch a large proportion of the

fragments and dust; for the smallest particles must strew; they would also be likely to travel in company, and so be lodged somewhere. Independent of all this, there is one curious circumstance connected with this theory, which ought by no means to be forgotten; and that is, the almost exact agreement in specific gravity, of meteoric stones, with the computed specific gravity of the internal parts of the disrupted planet. The mean density of the new planets is estimated to be about 2, that of water being 1; and reasoning from analogy, as well as from known principles, it is concluded that the internal parts of those planets in their original entire state, ought to be about  $3\frac{1}{2}$ ; and the fact is, that the density of meteoric stones has been found to be, with remarkable uniformity, very near this gravity.

There are two or three other opinions on this subject, which we have not noticed; as that of Dr. Wallis, who supposed that meteors might be small solar comets, and that of Dr. Chladni, who considered them as a sort of minor planets,\* or rather a new class of bodies, destined, so far as appears, to no purpose, and subjected to no law. But we have had enough of empty speculation, of induction from facts too few in number, and too uncertain and vague in their character. We would by no means discourage any exertions to arrange and reduce to order the scanty materials which have been thrown together. But our efforts are directed to the wrong point, the labor would be bestowed, we are persuaded, to more purpose in increasing the stock. There is no end to theorizing; but he who collects facts may be assured that he is in the right way, and though his progress may be slow, he is continually approaching the truth, and may soon be satisfied in the end, that he has done something. We

\* It is worthy of remark that the velocity of a considerable number of meteors approaches very near to that of the earth in its orbit. But this does not help us to solve the phenomena of such as move in directions nearly perpendicular to the ecliptic. A body moving in a parabola with the sun in its focus, and having a perihelion distance equal to the mean distance of the earth, might have an absolute velocity in passing the earth of about twenty six miles in a second, and a relative velocity of about forty six. This also fails of affording a solution in those cases, where meteors have moved with a velocity of twenty miles in a second in directions approaching to coincidence with that of the earth in its orbit.



have dwelt long upon this subject, not with the expectation of throwing much light upon it—we have presented it under different aspects, with the hope of exciting some interest, and of calling some attention to this branch of natural knowledge. There is no reason to despair, because little has been attempted. And yet one would think that there were many circumstances to invite attention, and promise success. The scene is immediately before us; the phenomena are presented daily, and sometimes addressed to all the senses, while the planets, and fixed stars, and comets affect only one, and that often feebly, and at long intervals; and yet we have learnt a great deal about these, and derived many advantages, as well as satisfaction, from our knowledge; and we are still extending it. We are following a faint beam of light to other systems, we are exhausting science in the invention of instruments, and our vigilance and zeal in the use of them, to catch a glimpse of a feeble nebula, belonging perhaps to another universe; while a meteor, we know not whence, overpowers us by its light, astounds us by its report, and threatens to dash our telescope from our hands. We are in short industriously cultivating remote and barren regions, while our garden is running to weeds. Do we despair of doing any thing? Let us recollect that the whole science of astronomy, the boast of the human intellect, was once in a much more dark and confused state, and the opportunities much rarer of gaining new light. How much have resolution, and diligence, and time, and talents, accomplished! Let us recollect that the science of comets, during the brightest period of the Roman commonwealth, was in the same state as that of meteors is now; nay it was confounded with it. Do we despair of deriving any benefit from the cultivation of this science, even if successful. Of this it is impossible to judge. Who expected three thousand years ago, that the study of the stars had any thing to do with the ebbing and flowing of the sea, and that a close attention to the phenomena of amber would explain thunder and lightning? What is there to exempt meteors from those laws which extend to all the other objects of our knowledge? If they are solid bodies, they must be comprehended within the limits of a science, that is already far advanced.

What will say that they are not intended to supply the defects in navigation, and other arts which are so sensibly felt? What will say that they will not at some future time cheer up the lost wanderer his way, and tell the unskilful mariner his danger?

## ARTICLE 3.

*Les Martyrs, ou le Triomphe de la Religion Chrétienne. Par François Auguste de Chateaubriand. Edit. 3e. à Paris, 1810.*

*The Martyrs; or the Triumph of the Christian religion. From the original French of F. A. de Chateaubriand; with notes. 3 vols. 12mo. New York, Welling & Watson, 1811.*

THIS work is the production of one of the most distinguished of the French literati of the present day, and has enjoyed a very high, though not an uncontested reputation in France. It is but little known in Great Britain, or in this country. We do not recollect to have seen a review of it in any of the celebrated English journals, and it is but lately that a translation of it into our language has been published. This is the more remarkable as there is generally among us a great eagerness for the literary novelties of France, as well as of England. This taste is however for the most part confined to novels. The valuable works in the English and French languages are interchanged rather slowly. This fact is more observable in France than in England. In conversing on literary subjects with persons of taste in Paris, even such as boasted some acquaintance with English literature, we never found any body that was acquainted with Scott, or Southey, or Campbell. They all talk to you of Shakspeare, and Pope, and the Spectator. We to be sure, have heard much of Delille, the first of French poets, and more beloved for the sweetness of his manners and life, than admired for the elegance of his writings; yet even of him there are but few readers perhaps that are acquainted with his last production, a poem on Conversation, published about a year and a half ago. Next to him probably the most known of the

great French writers, who are not men of science, is Chateaubriand. He depends however for his notoriety principally on his *Atala*, the first and perhaps the best of his productions. This sweet and interesting tale has been long since translated into all the languages of Europe, and has been deservedly popular in all. But the *Genie du Christianisme*, the *Martyrs*, and the *Itinéraire* are hardly known to us by name.

Chateaubriand is of a good family of the ancient régime. When very young, he visited this country, and was introduced to general Washington. We have seen persons here that remember to have conversed with him and his travelling companion at Philadelphia. While in America he was for some time among the aborigines, and obtained that accurate idea of their character and manners, which we find delineated in *Atala*. The grandeur of our natural scenes seems to have made much impression on his mind, and probably strengthened his original taste for the romantic and the sublime. Soon after his return from this country he visited England, and, from his writings, he seems to have travelled in most of the other states of Europe. He probably settled himself at Paris about the beginning of this century, for in a year or two after, he published *Atala*, which forms a part of the *Genius of Christianity*, but appeared before it. This circumstance, and the general aspect of *Atala*, remind one of *Paul and Virginia*, which probably suggested the idea, but did not serve as a model. *Atala* was received with the highest applause, and the larger work to which it appertains increased still further the reputation of Chateaubriand, and placed him at once among the most distinguished of his countrymen. This work illustrates very fully one distinguishing trait in his character, a deep, sincere, and superstitious piety. He professes and boasts of his attachment to the Roman catholic religion, and displays in defence of it the enthusiasm of warm feeling and of sincere conviction. Excited rather than satisfied by success, he now projected the plan of the *Martyrs*. This, he says in the preface, was intended to illustrate the idea, that the Christian theology is equally favorable to poetry with the Grecian mythology; and he adds, that being necessitated by this intention to choose a

subject, which should combine them both, he was of course directed to the period when the Christian religion began to prevail over the Grecian in the Roman empire. It may be doubted whether this was the real or at least the only motive for his writing the *Martyrs*. Having fixed on his plan however, from whatever motive, he pursued the execution of it with all the ardor of an enthusiast; and finding, as he says, that something was wanting to give life and identity to his descriptions, and wishing to raise still higher his own interest in the scenes of his story, he took the singular resolution of travelling through Greece, Palestine, Egypt, and Spain, for the sole purpose of acquiring materials for the improvement of his work. Since the publication of the *Martyrs*, he has given the public an account of this journey in his *Itinerary*. This is a work that belongs to the exceptionable class of sentimental journals, but is on the whole very interesting. He relates in it that he proceeded by land to Venice, and there embarked in a Greek ship, with an engagement to be landed on the south coast of the Morea. He landed near Messens, and proceed from there to Sparta, where he was fortunate enough to settle the local situation of the city of Lacedæmon, which before was a matter of dispute among antiquarians. From Sparta he went to Athens, and in the neighbourhood of the site of old Mýcenæ, stumbled over a subterranean sepulchre, which he supposes to be that of Egisthus and Clytemnestra. At Athens he praises very much the hospitality and fine taste of the French Consul, Favet, who is also mentioned with singular expressions of feeling by lord Byron, in the notes to *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, and like lord Byron, Chateaubriand dwells with grief and indignation on the Gothic ravages lately made by lord Elgin in the venerable Parthenon. After passing a week at Athens he sailed to Constantinople, and having obtained the necessary passports, embarked for the Holy Land, glancing as he passed on the Plain of Tiberias and the top of woody Ida. His minute description of Palestine is highly satisfactory. As the Church of St. Sepulchre has since been burnt, he is probably the last traveller that ever saw that remarkable building. He passed a short time in Egypt, and from there, after a long and stormy passage of forty five days,

reached Africa; and at Carthage he had the singular success of fixing, for the second time, the disputed site of an ancient city. From Africa he returned through Spain, accomplishing this long and eventful journey in less than a year.

Soon after his return, having taken advantage of the materials thus collected to improve, correct, and polish his work, Chateaubriand published the *Martyrs*. It had been looked for with anxiety, and was received with great interest, though not with universal praise. The periodical journals however extolled it very highly, and in the general opinion it added a good deal to the reputation of the writer. The only work of his that has appeared since the publication of the *Martyrs* is the *Itine*, *say*, mentioned above; and in a passage of the former work he bids farewell with all due ceremony to the Muse, and intimates that his future literary labors will be devoted to a history of the French Revolution. The writer of the present article was informed however at Paris, that notwithstanding this renunciation, he is now employed in writing a tragedy in prose, on the life of *Métem*. In the course of last year, a seat became vacant in the second class of the National Institute, by the death of Chénier, the famous revolutionary poet, and Chateaubriand was selected to fill it. It is customary on these occasions for the new member on his reception to deliver to the class an address, being a eulogy of his predecessor; and of course it was the duty of Chateaubriand to eulogize Chénier. His regard to truth however could not permit him to bestow unqualified approbation; so that the address, which he prepared, consisted of commendations and acknowledgements of his undisputed talents, tempered by many keen reflections on the excesses and defects of his moral character. The Academy thought a performance of this kind unfittable to the occasion, and refused to permit him to deliver it. Chateaubriand had the much independence to sacrifice his opinion, and he never took his seat in the Institute.

He now lives at Secaux, a village in the neighbourhood of Paris, retired from society, and depending on his literary labors for subsistence. He has not escaped the tribute of calumny, and abuse, which is usually bestowed on distinguished men of

every kind:—His works have been made the objects of every form of attack. Various publications have appeared, intended to ridicule the *Martyrs* and the *Itinerary*. One in particular, taking advantage of a hill near Paris, called Mount Calvary, gives a parody on his *Travels*, under the name of an *Itinéraire* from Lutèce to Mt. Calvaire, by M. de Maisonerne, with a frontispiece representing the discovery of the tomb of Egisthus and Clytemnestra, under the similitude of the ass of M. de Maisonerne making a false step, and discovering the tomb of Cucuphin. By way of preface to the third edition of the *Martyrs*, the author published an essay, in which he examines the criticisms that have appeared upon the poem, and defends himself as well as he can from the charges that have been made against him.

The object of the work is to celebrate the triumph of the Christian religion over paganism, which is considered as effected by its establishment in the Roman empire. The name of the hero is Eudorus, descended from the family of Philopœmen, *the last of the Grecians*; and his partner in suffering and in merit is Cymodose, the daughter of Demodocus, the priest and descendant of Homer. The poem begins with the proposition of his general plan, and the invocation of the Muses of sacred and fabulous poetry, and then introduces us to the hero, and heroine of the tale. He relates that Demodocus was the last descendant of those families, formerly living in Chios, that derived their descent from Homer. He was married in his youth to Epicharis, and removed with her to Gortyna in Crete, where they resided on the banks of the river Lethe. Soon after, Cymodose was born, and in the very grove where the three wise men of Plato discoursed on law. Epicharis died soon after, and her husband, willing to abandon a situation that was now unpleasant to him, complied with a request from the Messenians to become the priest in a temple, which they had just erected in honor of Homer. In this peaceable retreat his daughter grew apace in beauty and accomplishments, and attracted the notice of Hierocles, proconsul of Achæa, who requested her hand in marriage, and was refused. Demodocus, to relieve his daughter from the proconsul's importunity, made

her priestess of the Muses. One night, after celebrating the festival of Diana of Limna, she was returning alone over the mountains to her father's house, and more attentive to recollections of nymphs and goddesses than her way, she lost herself, and took refuge in a grotto till morning. Here she was surprised with the sight of what she thought at first a sleeping divinity, but which proved to be no other than Eudorus, the son of Lasthénès, a rich farmer of Arcadia. After mutual explanations, Eudorus conducts her home; but she neglects to invite him to come in with her. This would even now be thought uncivil, and was considered by Demodocus, in the high spirit of ancient hospitality, quite intolerable. He chides his daughter severely for the neglect, and determines to make a visit of apology to Eudorus. The carriage is prepared, a cup, whose genealogy is traced to Homer, is placed in it for a present, and they depart for the home of Lasthénès. Thus ends the first book.

The second book, says the author in his notes, seems to have given more satisfaction than any other. Demodocus and Cy-modoce, after a prosperous journey of a day and a half, arrived at the house of Lasthénès, whom they found waiting at the gate to invite strangers to enter. The whole family were gathering the harvest, and a pleasant picture is drawn of the primitive simplicity of their manners, copied from the story of Ruth. Demodocus presents his cup to Eudorus, not without surprise to find the tribune and the minister in the shape of a simple laborer. He then congratulates Lasthénès on his good fortune:

“Mon hôte, dit Demodocus à Lasthénès, tu me sembles mener ici la vie du divin Nestor. Je ne me souviens pas d'avoir vu la peinture d'une scène pareille, si ce n'est sur le bouclier d'Achille. Vulcain y avoit gravé un roi au milieu des moissonneurs; ce pasteur des peuples, plein de joie tenoit en silence son sceptre levé au dessus des sillons. Il ne manque ici que le sacrifice du taureau sous le chêne de Jupiter. Quelle abondante moisson! Que d'esclaves laborieux et fidèles!—Les moissonneurs ne sont pas mes esclaves, répliqua Lasthénès. Ma religion me défend d'en avoir. Je leur ai donné la liberté. Lasthénès, dit alors Demodocus, je commence à comprendre, que la renommée, cette voix de Jupiter, m'avait appris la vérité. Tu auras sans doute embrassé cette secte nouvelle, qui adore un Dieu inconnu à nos ancêtres. Lasthénès répondit, Je

jeune Clésien. Le descendant d'Homère demura quelque temps interdit: puis reprenant la parole, Mon hôte, dit-il, pardonne à ma franchise. J'ai toujours obéi à la Vérité, fille de Saturne et mère de la Vertu. Les dieux sont justes: comment pourrois-je concilier la prospérité, qui t'environne, et les impiétés dont on accuse les Chrétiens?

Evening draws on in the midst of this sort of conversation, and after family devotion, they are entertained with a plentiful supper, and are agreeably surprized by the arrival of another guest, as the company are just placing themselves at table, whom Demodocus takes for some pagan priest, till he is set right by the stranger, who proves to be Cyril, bishop of Lacedemon, and to have come by appointment to hear Eudorus relate the story of his life and actions. After supper Demodocus, desiring to exhibit his daughter's musical powers, invites her to give the company a specimen. This passage appears to be considered the most beautiful in the poem, and we shall extract the whole.

«Jeune Clève des Muses, dit-il à Cymodocée, charme tes vénérables hôtes. Une douce complaisance fait toute la grâce de la vie; et Apollon retire ses dons aux esprits orgueilleux. Montre nous que tu descends d'Homère. Les poètes sont les législateurs des hommes, et les précepteurs de la sagesse. Lorsque Agamemnon partit pour les rivages de Troie, il laissa un chantre divin auprès de Clytemneste.

• My host, said Demodocus to Lathénès, you seem to live here the life of the divine Nestor. I do not remember to have seen the representation of such a scene, except it be on the shield of Achilles. Vulcan had there engraved a king in the midst of his workmen; this shepherd of his people filled with joy held in silence his sceptre, raised over the furrows. Nothing is wanting here except the sacrifice of a bull under the oak of Jupiter. What an abundant harvest! How many faithful and laborious slaves!—These workmen are not my slaves, replied Lathénès. My religion prevents my having any: I have given them all their freedom. Lathénès, then said Demodocus, I begin to perceive that fame, the voice of Jupiter, has rightly informed me. You have, without doubt, joined this new sect, which adores a God unknown to our ancestors. Lathénès answered;—I am a Christian. The descendant of Homer was for some time silent: then resuming the discourse, he said—My host, pardon my frankness, I have always obeyed Truth, the daughter of Saturn, and the mother of Virtue. The gods are just: how may I reconcile the prosperity which surrounds you with the impieties of which the Christians are accused?



tre: afin de lui rappeler la vertu. Cette reine perdit l'usage de ses devoirs, mais ce fut après qu'Égypte eut transporté le nombril des Muses dans une île déserte.

"Ainsi parla Demodocus. Eudote vachereher une lyreet la présente à la jeune Grecque, qui prononça quelque mots confus, mais d'une merveilleuse douceur. Elle se leva ensuite, et après avoir préludé sur des tons divers elle fit entendre sa voix mélodieuse.

"Elle commença par l'éloge des Muses. C'est vous, dit elle, qui avez tout enseigné aux hommes. Vous êtes l'unique consolation de la vie: vous prêtez des soupirs à nos douleurs et des harmonies à nos joies. L'homme n'a reçu du ciel qu'un talent, la divine poésie, et c'est vous, qui avez été choisies pour lui faire ce présent inestimable. O filles de Mnémosyne, qui chérissiez les bois de l'Olympe, le vallon de Tempé, et les eaux de Castalie, soutez la voix d'une vierge consacrée à vos autels.

"Après cette invocation, Cymodocée chanta la naissance des dieux, Jupiter sauvé de la fureur de son père, Minerve sortie du cerveau de Jupiter, Hébé fille du Junon, Venus née de l'équime des flots, et les Graces, dont elle fut la mère. Elle dit aussi la naissance de l'homme, animé par le feu de Prométhée, Pandore et sa boîte fatale, le genre humain reproduit par Deucalion et Pyrrha. Elle raconta les metamorphoses des dieux et des hommes, les Héliades, changées en peupliers, et l'ambre de leurs pleurs roulé par les flots d'Eridan. Elle dit Daphné, Baucis, Clytié, Philomèle, Atalante, les larmes de l'Aurore devenues la rosée, la couronne d'Ariadne attachée au firmament. Elle ne vous oublia point, fontaines, et vous, fleuves, nourriciers d's beaux ombrages. Elle nomma avec honneur le vieux Péinée, l'Ismène et l'Erymanthe, le Méandre qui fait tant de détours, le Scamandre, si fameux, le Sperchius, aimé des poètes, l'Eurotas, chéri de l'épouse de Tyndare, et le fleuve, que les cygnes de Méonie ont tant de fois charmé par la douceur de leurs chants.

"Mais comment auroit elle passé sous silence les héros célébrés par Homère. S'animant d'un feu nouveau, elle chanta la colère d'Achille qui fut si pernicieuse aux Grecs. Ulysse, Ajax, et Phénix dans la tente de l'ami de Patrocle, Andromaque aux Portes Scées, Priam aux genoux du meurtrier d'Hector. Elle dit les chagrins de Pénélope, la reconnaissance de Télémaque, et d'Ulysse chez Eumée, la mort du chien fidèle, le vieux Laerte, sarchant son jardin des champs, et pleurant à l'aspect des treize poiriers, qu'il avoit donnés à son fils.

"Cymodocée ne put chanter les vers de son immortel aïeul sans consacrer quelques accens à sa mémoire. Elle representa la pauvre et vertueuse mère de Mélésgènes, rallumant sa lampe, et prenant ses fuseaux au milieu de la nuit, afin d'acheter du prix de ses larmes un peu de blé pour nourrir son fils. Elle dit comment Mélésgènes devint aveugle et reçut le nom d'Homère; comment il alloit de ville en ville demandant l'hospitalité; comment il chanta ses vers sous le

parler d'Hyak. Elle raconta ses longs voyages, sa nuit passée sur le rivage de l'île de Chio, son aventure avec les chiens de Glaucus. Enfin elle parla des jeux funèbres du roi d'Eubée, ou Hésiode osa disputer à Homère le prix de la poésie; mais elle supprima le jugement des vieillards, qui couronnèrent le chantre des Travaux et des Jours, parce que ses leçons étoient plus utiles aux hommes.\*

\* *Versification of the song of Cymodoce.*

"The old man spake, and to the Grecian maid  
Eudorus gave the harp, which as she took  
With maiden blushes, to the favored youth  
Few words she said, but sweet. Preluding first  
She swept the sounding strings, and touched them all  
To many a tone: anon, with measured strain,  
And tuneful voice according, thus began;  
Began with you, sweet Muses! You, she sung,  
Daughters of Memory! gave to savage men  
All knowledge; you to 'suage his troubled thoughts  
All consolation, breathing to his soul  
Sighs that soothe pain, and swelling harmonies,  
Raising and publishing the sense of joy.  
One only gift did heaven vouchsafe to man;  
'Twas poetry; and you, celestial maids,  
Bestowed the precious present—Hear me then,  
Daughters of Memory, in your shady haunts,  
Woody Olympus, that delightful vale,  
Where flows Peneus, or the shady streams  
Of Castaly—oh, hear your chosen maid.

Then to her sang a mighty theme she sang,  
The birth of gods; how Saturn's son was saved  
Timely from wrath paternal—how complete  
Sprung from her father's brain, in mail arrayed,  
The power of wisdom: her, that from sea-fount  
Rose, like the morning star, and hence by men  
Called Aphrodite; and her daughters three,  
The Graces. Then she told how life began,  
Kindled by rash Prometheus; that fair plague  
Pandora, and the plastic pair, whose hands  
Renewed mankind, Deucalion and his spouse.  
Then told (a wondrous theme) how gods and men  
Their shapes divine with many an humbler form  
Did interchange and vary: how the maids,  
Sisters of Phaëton, were all for wo  
To waving poplars turned, along the banks  
Of Aridanus; and his purple tide  
Nourished with tears of amber. Next she sang

After *Cymodoce* had concluded her song, *Euterpe* was requested to follow her, and prove that the Christians ~~also~~ have a taste for music; and he sang a hymn, founded on various passages of scripture.—By this time midnight arrives, the company retire to rest, and the second book concludes.

The third book, says the author in his remarks, has been criticised more than any other; but if I have ever written any thing that bears the mark of genius, it is contained in this book. The book begins with a description of the city of God, floating in the centre of the universe, and an account of its inhabitants, and their employments. Amongst them he assigns the virgin Mary an honorable seat. The mystery of the Trinity enters

Daphne, and *Bacis*, and the melting voice  
Of *Philemelæ*; and *Aurora's* love;  
That sprinkled o'er the morn with dewy tears  
For *Tithon* lost; and *Ariadne's* crown  
Blazing in heaven. Nor did she you forget,  
Fountains, nor you, that wash your shady sides  
By poets haunted, venerable streams.  
She sang *Peneus*; and the lucid waves  
Of *Krymanth*, and *Ismenus*, that wells  
From hills of *Arcady*, thy winding flood,  
*Meander*, and that famous *Phrygian* stream,  
*Scamander*, and *Eurotas*, on whose banks  
*Læonian* virgins gathered nuptial flowers  
For *Helen*, and the stream that listens oft,  
*Mæonian* swans, to hear your dying strain.  
Nor did the minstrel maid forget to name  
The ancient author of her race, she sung  
How *Melesigenes* in humble want  
Was by his mother nourished—how the Muse  
Severe, though bounteous, gave him strains divine,  
But quenched his eyes in blindness: thence of men  
Called *Homer*—how from town to town he roved,  
City and champaign, and the song he sung  
At hospitable *Hyle*, and the night  
He spent at *Chios*, and the *Glaucian* dogs  
Last came the tale, how *Hesiod* dared to vie  
With godlike *Homer* at the *Euboeic* games,  
Claiming the palm of poesy—I ween  
The minstrel maiden told not, how the choir  
Of Judges crowned the *Lord of Weeks and Days*,  
Deeming each verse of *Spenser* worth to name.

largely into this part of his machinery. In the first editions, this book contained speeches of the Father and replies of the Son, explanatory of the plan, on which the marvellous of the poem is framed. These speeches were much criticised; and in the third edition the author has omitted them entirely, and has interpreted in his own person, the single word, by which he represents the Deity, as conveying his thoughts to his ministers, and informing them of the necessity of another victim to atone for the sins of mankind, and of the choice, that he had made.

The fourth book restores us to the mountains of Arcadia. The family of Lasthénès and his guests arose by day-light, and assembled in a little island at the confluence of the rivers Alpheus and Ladon, to hear the recital of Eudorus. He begins by stating his descent from Philopoemen, and on the mother's side from the old woman of Megara, that buried under her hearth the bones of Phocion. After the death of Philopoemen, the Romans, jealous of the influence of his family among the Greeks, obliged the eldest son to reside as a hostage at Rome, and Eudorus in his sixteenth year was subjected to this lot. Previously to that, however, his family had embraced the Christian religion. After a perilous passage in which the vessel was driven eastward to the Hellespont and through every part of the Archipelago, he landed at Brundisium and proceeded to Rome. Here he becomes intimately acquainted with St. Jerome and St. Austin, then young libertines of distinction, and Constantine, afterwards emperor. He describes the court and the characters of Diocletian, Maximian, and Galerius, and the sophist Hierocles, the principal favorite at court. He then relates how the splendor and enticements of the court combined with the ardor of his constitution to corrupt his morals, and how he was excommunicated by Marcellinus, Bishop of Rome.

In the fifth book, Eudorus continues his recital, and tells of the pleasant summer he spent with the court at Baiae. He describes with minuteness the scenes in the neighbourhood of Naples, its climate, and the manners of the inhabitants. But he with his friends, Jerome and Austin, were soon satiated with this round of dissipation, and one day assembled at Libernum, over the tomb of Scipio Africanus, to communicate their dis-

trass. A hermit, residing near there, overhears their discourse, and relates his story by way of pointing out a remedy; for he had himself been assailed by the same inquietude, and had found relief in embracing the Christian religion. His eloquence awakened in their minds their ancient religious feelings. The author gives the following character of the eloquence of this hermit, and observes in his notes, that friends have applied it to himself, but that he intended it for Fenelon.

"Nous ne nous laissions point de l'entendre. Sa voix avoit une harmonie qui remuoit doucement les entrailles. Une éloquence fleurie et pourtant d'un gout simple découloit naturellement de ses lèvres. Il donnoit aux moindres choses un tour antique qui nous ravissoit. Il se répétoit comme les anciens; mais cette répétition, qui eut été un défaut chez un autre, devenoit, je ne sais comment, la grâce même de ses discours. Vous l'eussiez pris pour un de ces législateurs de la Grèce, qui donnoient jadis des loix aux hommes, en chantant sur une lyre d'or la beauté de la vertu et la toute-puissance des dieux.\*

The recital is now interrupted by the arrival of breakfast, after which Demodocus observes:—

\*Fils de Lathénès, ton récit m'enchante, bien que je n'en comprends pas toute la sagesse. Il me semble que le langage des Chrétiens est une espèce de poésie de la raison, dont Minerve ne m'a donné aucune intelligence. Achève de raconter ton histoire. Si quelque un verse ici des larmes en l'écoutant, cela ne doit pas t'arrêter, car on a déjà vu de pareils exemples. Lorsqu'un fils d'Apollon chantoit les malheurs de Troie à la table d'Alcinous, il y avoit un étranger, qui enveloppoit sa tête dans son manteau et qui pleuroit. Laissons donc s'attendrir, ma Cymodocée Jupiter a confié à la Pitié le coeur de la jeunesse.†

\* We were never tired of hearing him. There was an harmony in his voice, which sunk into the heart. A flowery, yet simple eloquence, flowed naturally from his lips. He gave things, the least important, an air of antiquity which delighted us. He indulged in repetition like the ancients; but this repetition, which would have been a fault in another, became the very charm of his discourse. You would have taken him for one of those legislators of Greece, who anciently gave laws to men, singing upon a golden lyre, the beauty of virtue, and the omnipotence of the gods.

† Son of Lathénès, your narrative enchants me, though I do not comprehend all its wisdom. It seems that the language of the Christians is

The author remarks upon this passage, that he cannot help avowing a partiality for Demodocus, and we join with him in the sentiment. He plays a part somewhat similar to that of the old minstrel in Scott's first poem, and with similar effect.

Eudorus goes on with his recital, and informs the company, that on his return to Rome he incurred the displeasure of Diocletian, by discovering that the Empress was converted to Christianity, and was for consequence ordered to join the army of Constantius in Gaul.

In this book we have a description of the Catacombs at Rome; and we shall give the reader an opportunity of comparing it with those of M<sup>r</sup>. Delille, and M<sup>ad</sup>. de Seneb, by extracting the passage.

"Poussé par curiosité, je m'avance, et j'entre hardiment dans la caverne; où s'étoient plongés les mystérieux fantômes. Je vis s'allonger devant moi des galeries souterraines, qu'à peine éclairaient de loin à loin quelques lampes suspendues. Les murs des corridors faustres étoient bordés d'un triple rang de cercueils, placés les uns au-dessus des autres. La lumière lugubre des lampes, rampant sur les parois des voûtes, et se mouvant avec lenteur le long des sépulchres, repandoit une mobilité effrayant sur ces objets éternellement immobiles. En vain prêtant une oreille attentive, je cherchois à saisir quelques sons pour me diriger; traverser une mine de mines; je me sentois, que le battement de mon cœur dans le repos absolu de ces lieux. Je voulois retourner en arrière; mais il n'étoit plus temps; je pris une fausse route, et au lieu de sortir du dédale, je m'y enfoncai." &c.

A sort of poetry of reason, of which Minerva has given me no understanding. Finish the relation of your history. If any one shed tears in hearing it, that should not stop you; for examples of the same thing have been seen before. When one of the sons of Apollo sung the misfortunes of Troy, at the table of Alcinoüs, there was a stranger there, who wrapped his head in his mantle, and wept. Let us then yield to tenderness, my Cyrenopolis, Jupiter has entrusted to Pity the heart of youth.

• Urged by curiosity, I advanced, and boldly entered the cavern, where these mysterious phantoms had buried themselves. I saw lengthening before me subterranean galleries, which were feebly lighted by some lamps, suspended at a great distance from each other. The walls of these corridors of the dead were lined with triple rows of coffins placed one upon another. The gloomy light of the lamps, creeping along the sides of the vaults, and slowly spreading throughout the sepulchres, gave a fearful

In the sixth book the scene changes from Italy to Gaul. Eudorus receives a rank in the army of Constantius as a private archer, and the Romans advance into Batavia to engage the Franks. The array of both armies is minutely described. A battle takes place, in which the Romans gain the advantage the first day. Eudorus distinguishes himself very much, and obtains the command of his legion, and an oak-leaf crown. The next day the contest is renewed; and a sudden rising of the sea turns the scale for a moment in favor of the Franks. Eudorus remains wounded on the field, whence he is taken by a Frank slave.

In the seventh book, Eudorus relates, that the Franks retreated for fifteen days and as many nights, into the heart of Germany. The slave, who had saved his life, proves to be a descendant of Cassius, the companion of Brutus, and a Christian, who had succeeded in converting to Christianity Clotilde, the wife of Pharamond, king of the Franks, and thus laid the foundation of Christianity in France. By the intercession of this man, the life of Eudorus is saved, and he becomes the slave of Meroveus, son of Pharamond. In the course of the winter, he accompanies his master to the borders of the Euxine sea, and accidentally discovers the tomb of Ovid. On this spot he saves the life of Meroveus, and is rewarded with his liberty. On their return to the camp, a council is held, and the Franks, after much debate, determine to make proposals of peace to the Romans. Eudorus is deputed as the ambassador, and takes his departure, greatly distressed at leaving his good friend, the descendant of Cassius, who, added to his other merits, was one of the Theban legion, that so heroically suffered martyrdom by the order of Maximian.

In the eighth book, the recital of Eudorus is interrupted, and after describing its effect in awakening a pure love in the

appearance of motion to objects eternally immoveable. It was in vain that I listened attentively, and endeavoured to seize on some sound, to direct me across an abyss of silence. I heard nothing but the beating of my heart in the utter stillness of the place. I endeavoured to return by the way I entered, but it was too late. I lost myself, and instead of escaping from the labyrinth, I entered farther into it.

virgin breast of Cymodoce, the poet introduces us to the mysteries of the infernal council. Satan, after visiting his favorite spots on earth, returns through chaos to hell, whose gate is guarded by Sin and Death. A deliberation ensues, on the best means of opposing Christianity, in which the Demon of slaughter proposes a general persecution; the Demon of sophistry the arts of perversion; and the Demon of pleasure the seductions of passion. Satan concludes by recommending the use of all. This book, from the nature of it, is a trial of strength with Milton, and the comparison is not much to the advantage of the author.

The ninth book renews the recital of Eudorus.—Peace is concluded with the Franks. Eudorus heads an expedition into Britain, returns successful and is appointed governor of Armorica, now Brittany. The rest of this book, with the tenth, is taken up by the episode of Velleda, or the loves of Eudorus and the principal Druidess; which gives an opportunity to describe the ceremonies of Druidical worship. We have not room for the particulars of the episode. Eudorus yields to the seductions of this fair barbarian, and the tenth book ends with her death. The eleventh book contains the account of the penitence of Eudorus for his fault, and his determination to return to Christianity. With this view he offers to resign to Constantius the command of Armorica. Constantius refuses to accept his resignation, telling him that he must make it to Diocletian in person. He goes to Rome in search of Diocletian, but finding that he is gone on an expedition into Upper Egypt, he follows him into that country, and we have a description of his voyage along the coast of Africa, and his remarks on Egypt, its cities, its antiquities, and its pyramids. Diocletian accepts his resignation, and permits him to return to his father's house. On his way thither, he determines to pass through Syria, where he is caught in a violent hurricane, and escapes with difficulty. By great good luck, he finds in the midst of a desert the cell of the hermit Paul, who is just on the eve of death. Paul shares with him the miraculous bread with which he was daily supplied, and seized with prophetic inspiration, as his mortal hour approached, reveals to him the fall of Rome, and the inroads of the Bar-



barians into the empire. St. Antony, so famous for his temptations, having had miraculous information that Paul was to die here, arrives in season to bury him, and conducts Eudorus on his way. He passes through Jerusalem to Constantinople, and thence to Arcadia, and thus finishes the recital of Eudorus.

Having thus introduced us to the characters, and acquainted us with the life of Eudorus, the poet opens his action in the twelfth book by informing us, that the Demon of desire revived in the breast of Hierocles his passion for Cymodoce, and that Satan alarmed the mind of Diocletian on the subject of the Christians, by various prodigies, proving that the ancient gods of the country were offended. By the persuasion of Hierocles, he issues an edict that the Christians shall be numbered, and Hierocles leaves Rome to enforce it, and to prosecute his amours in his government of Arcadia. While the Demon of desire was employed in inflaming the breast of the proconsul, the angel of holy loves was equally busy with Eudorus and Cymodoce. The night following the conclusion of his recital, the thoughts of each other kept them both awake. Cymodoce grows tired of watching, and walking out into the garden, finds Eudorus engaged at his devotions. The two lovers easily came to an explanation, and Cymodoce promises to embrace the Christian religion, and to become the wife of Eudorus.—Then, says the poet, day dawned on the lovers, and cast his first beam on the tomb of Epaminondas, and the tops of the wood Pelagus in the plain of Mantinée. Cymodoce hastened to return to her couch, and Eudorus went to awake his father.

The next morning Cymodoce relates to her father what has passed, and after a struggle he consents that she shall become a Christian; and Lathénès on that condition consents that she shall marry Eudorus. Hierocles arrives in Arcadia, and becomes furious with jealousy, when he hears that the object of his passion is to be ravished from him by a Christian. He proceeds immediately to the numbering of the Christians, with a view to bring Eudorus into his presence. Cymodoce and her family set out for Lacedemon—The Christians attend their summons, and appear at the tribunal of the proconsul,

and Eudorus among them.—At the sight of him the people, many of whom had been his fellow soldiers, shout with joy and approbation; and the governor in a rage dismisses the assembly, and writes to the emperor, that the Christians of Arcadia are ripe for a revolt, and that the exiled Eudorus is at their head. The latter, suspecting something of this sort from the vengeance of Hierocles, dispatches a messenger to his friend Constantine, to inform him of the truth. The thirteenth book concludes with the farewell of Cymodoce to the altars of the Muses, and to her ancestor Homer.

First of my race, to thee who didst inspire  
 Her voice, thy daughter consecrates the lyre;  
 No common power commands my heart to rove,  
 But simple maidens may not strive with love,  
 Great Hector's wife desired no other joy,  
 But loved her spouse, and loved her darling boy,  
 And blameless I, compelled by powers above,  
 Now leave the lyre, and life for him I love.

The fourteenth book begins with the arrival of the family of Demodocus at Sparta, the natural aspect of which is strikingly described. Cymodoce receives Christian instruction from Bishop Cyril, and making a rapid progress, is soon thought worthy of being admitted to the assembly of the faithful.—An evening is fixed for this ceremony, and also for that of her being betrothed to Eudorus. These ceremonies are both described at length; and then succeeds a hymn, sung by the Christian virgins, founded on the song of Solomon, and an Epithalamium, sung without the church by Demodocus and a company of his friends, founded principally on the Epithalmium of Helen, by Theocritus. Thus here, as throughout the work, the poetical beauties of the two religions are contrasted with each other. But at this moment the ceremonies are interrupted by a band of soldiers, sent by the proconsul to seize Cymodoce. Eudorus, taking her in his arms, flies with her to a distance, and reaching the tomb of Leonidas, makes a stand against the assailants, and disperses them all. The same night the messenger of Eudorus returns with a letter from Constantine, requesting him to come to Rome, and telling him that Dorotheus, a

Christian, is going to Jerusalem to apprise the empress Helen of the state of the church, and is to touch at Athens. Eudorus determines to meet him there, and request him to take Cymodoce to Jerusalem, to preserve her from the pursuit of Hierocles, while he himself is gone to Rome.—The next book is principally taken up with carrying this project into execution. The family of Demodocus and Eudorus repair to Athens, where they meet with Dorotheus in the Academy. He informs them of the danger of the Christian cause, from the intrigues of the Sophists, and the enmity of Galerius.—Then the day of departure is fixed; and when it arrives, the priest of Homer takes leave of his daughter and son-in-law—the first sails for Jerusalem, and the latter for Rome.—He arrives in safety, and finds the senate about to discuss the great question, whether the Christians shall be tolerated.—It has been resolved that counsel shall be employed, and Eudorus is engaged to speak for the Christians. Meantime Hierocles, enraged at the escape of Cymodoce, arrives at Rome to execute some scheme of vengeance, and he is appointed to plead the cause of the opposers of Christianity. The book concludes with a description of the ceremonial of a meeting of the senate.—The sixteenth book contains the debates on this occasion, consisting of the speech of Symmachus, priest of Jupiter, who favored the toleration of Christianity, on condition that the Christians should not abuse the established religion; of Hierocles, who viewed all religions as engines of state policy, and attacked the Christians as immoral and seditious; and of Eudorus, who defended them from these imputations. At the conclusion of the debate Diocletian remains irresolute; but a prodigy, by which Romulus declares himself against Christianity, determines him, and he consents to issue an edict of persecution, on condition however that the Sibyl of Cumæ approve the resolve. The oration of Eudorus is very eloquent. We have heard a lady of great taste pronounce it to be the finest passage in the poem.

In the seventeenth book we have the oracle of the Sibyl of Cumæ, in equivocal terms, but interpreted against the Christians, and Diocletian issues the edict of persecution.—Cymodoce arrives at the Holy Land, where she is received by the

empress Helen, and initiated still further in the faith. In the eighteenth book, Galerius prevails upon Diocletian to abdicate the empire in his favor, and an order is issued to arrest Constantine, but he makes his escape through the assistance of Eudorus, who is himself thrown into prison. The persecution goes on under the auspices of Hierocles, now principal minister, and he sends a centurion to Jerusalem to seize Cymodoce, and bring her to Rome.—Aided by Dorotheus, she escapes from the centurion, and takes refuge in the grot of St. Jerome, who advises her to go and join Eudorus at Rome. The next book contains the account of the baptism of Cymodoce in the waters of the Jordan, and of her departure with Dorotheus for her father's house; but on her passage thither she is driven by a tempest to the Italian coast, where she lands. Meanwhile Demodocus, anxious for the fate of his daughter, and hearing that she has sailed for Rome, closes the temple of Homer, takes his property with him, and sails for Italy to meet her. In the prisons at Rome there is a general meeting of the religious characters that have appeared in the poem, and among them the descendant of Cassius, the soldier of the Theban legion, from Gaul, who informs Eudorus of the arrival of Constantine at the court of his father Constantius, in that province.

Book twentieth.—Cymodoce, landing on the coast of Italy, is conducted to the palace of Hierocles, who offers to liberate Eudorus, on condition that she complies with his wishes. She refuses in disdain, and he is about to offer violence to her: when a mob of the Roman people from the court of the palace, excited by Demodocus, demand her of Hierocles, with denunciations of vengeance in case of refusal. When they learn from her own mouth that she is a Christian, they order that she shall be taken from Hierocles, and given to the public officers to suffer for her faith. The emperor Galerius, with his attendants, appears in the midst of the tumult, and confirms this decision. The consequence of all this is the disgrace of Hierocles, and the appointment of his rival Publius to be minister, the imprisonment of Cymodoce, and sentence of death passed on Eudorus. The book concludes with his farewell letter to Cymodoce.

The twenty first book describes the sorrows of Cymodoce in prison, and the anguish with which she learns from the letter of Eudorus that he is to suffer martyrdom.—Eudorus is brought before the judge, and ordered to sacrifice, and on his refusal is urged to it by horrible tortures. During these torments, he is related to have offered them as a sacrifice to obtain the salvation of his mother, who, for having been too indulgent to her children, is doing a slight penance in purgatory. The virgin Mary obtains his mother's release from purgatory, and visiting that region, which is here described, she takes Sophora and conducts her to heaven: while as she passes along through the spaces of the universe, the suns, and the systems, with their presiding angels, scattered along the way, sing a hymn in her honor.—“Open, ye everlasting gates, that the queen of heaven may go in. I salute you, Mary, full of grace, pattern of maidens and of wives! What sweetness is in her downcast look! How tranquil and modest her smile. The universe trembles with delight as she passes,” &c.

The next book contains an account of a public repast, at which the martyrs, according to an ancient custom, were allowed to assist the evening before their execution. In the midst of it a letter is brought to Eudorus, informing him, that Cymodoce has been ordered by Hierocles to be sent to a place of public prostitution, but that Eudorus may yet save her, if he will sacrifice. He faints at reading it. The people demand that the letter should be read to them, and after hearing it they beseech Eudorus to sacrifice; the soldiers, his ancient comrades, join in the request, and offer him their eagles for altars. For a moment the temptation seems too great. He arises and advances to the eagles, and takes the cup of libation; but a cry from his fellow-prisoners restores him to himself, and he drops the cup, declaring that he is a Christian.

The twenty third book begins with a description of the Orgies, at the conclusion of which the martyrs are to be sacrificed, and tells of the death of Hierocles, struck by an angel with leprosy. Cymodoce hears in prison a story of the deliverance of Eudorus, and hope springs up for a moment in her mind. She is soon undeceived by Dorotheus, who contrives means for

her-escape, and endeavours to persuade her to fly with him. Finding that Eudorus is to suffer, she at first refuses, but the wish to see her father induces her at last to leave the prison. She meets Demodocus, and he tries in vain to persuade her to abjure Christianity, the source of all her sorrows. She persuades her father to retire to rest, and the angel of sleep descends at her prayer, and sheds his poppies on the old man's eye-lids.

The twenty fourth and last book opens with the author's farewell to the Muse, and an intimation, that in future he shall devote himself to history. He then tells us that the angel of God struck Galerius with worms, like Herod, as a punishment for his impieties. The amphitheatre meantime is prepared, where the martyrs are to be given up to wild beasts. The preparation and procession of the martyrs are described. Eudorus is sentenced to enter first and alone. While he remains in the arena, waiting the coming of the emperor, the door opens, and Cymodoce rushes in, determined to sacrifice herself to Christianity, and die with her lover. The emperor enters, and the signal is given for the beasts. A contest ensues between the lovers for precedence in suffering, till a ferocious tyger is loosed from his cell, and the sacrifice of both is accomplished. The justice of Heaven is satiated; the last atonement is offered for the sins of the Christians; the reign of false religion ceases upon earth; and an angel descends from heaven with a chain, and binds the spirit of evil in the depths of the abyss.

At the risk of being tedious, we shall transcribe a part of the introduction to the last book:

“O Muse, qui daignas me soutenir dans une carrière, aussi longue que périlleuse, retourne maintenant aux célestes demeures. J’aperçois les bornes de la course; je vais descendre du char, et pour chanter l’hymne des morts, je n’ai plus besoin de ton secours. Quel François ignore aujourd’hui les cantiques funèbres? Qui de nous n’a mené le deuil autour d’un tombeau, n’a fait retentir le cri des funérailles? C’en est fait, ô Muse, et pour toujours j’abandonne tes autels. Je ne dirai plus les amours, et les songes séduisant des hommes; il faut quitter la lyre avec la jeunesse. Adieu, consolatrice de mes jours——O Muse, je n’oublierai point les leçons, je ne laisserai point tomber mon cœur des régions élevées ou tu l’as

placé. Les talens de l'esprit que tu dispenses, s'affoiblissent par le cours des ans; la voix perd sa fraîcheur; les doigts se glaçant sur le luth; mais les nobles sentimens que tu inspires peuvent restés quand tes autres dons ont disparu. Fidèle compagne de ma vie errante montant dans les cieux, laisse moi l'indépendance et la vertu. Qu'elles viennent, ces Vierges austères, qu'elles viennent fermer pour moi le livre de la Poésie, et m'ouvrir les pages de l'Histoire. J'ai consacré l'âge des illusions à la riante peinture du mensonge, j'emploierai l'âge des regrets au tableau sévère de la vérité."

Having thus given a sketch of the story, and extracted a sufficient number of passages to give the reader a correct, though rather a favorable idea of the work, we shall now make a very few observations on the plan, in its divisions of fable and character, and on the style and execution.

It is not expected that the story in a work of this kind should possess the interest of the narrative in a novel. The only requisite is, that it should present favorable opportunities for sublime and beautiful description, and afford a display of interesting and exalted character. In the first particular, the story of the martyrs is remarkably happy. The author has so contrived it, that he has been enabled to introduce into the compass of his work, almost every thing interesting in antiqui-

"O Muse, who hast deigned to sustain me in my long and perilous career, return now to thy celestial abodes. I discern the limits of my course, I am about to descend from my car; and I have no more need of thy assistance, to sing the hymn of the dead. To what Pœanistess is the funeral song unknown? Who of us has not gone to mourn around a tomb, and uttered his cries for the dead? O muse, I have finished, and it is forever that I abandon thine altars. I shall no more sing of love, and songs which seduce the heart. Youth and the lyre must be left together. Adieu, consoler of my days!—O Muse, I shall not forget thy lessons; I shall not let my heart fall from the elevated regions, where thou hast placed it. The talents of mind which thou givest are weakened by years, the voice loses its freshness, and the fingers are stiffened on the lute; but the noble sentiments which are inspired by thee may remain, when thy other gifts have disappeared. Faithful companion of my life, when you return to heaven, leave me independence and virtue. May these austere virgins come, may they come to shut from me forever the book of poetry, and to open the pages of history. I have devoted the age of illusions to the smiling pictures of falsehood. I shall employ the age of sorrow on the severe tablet of truth."

ty for sublimity and beauty, either natural or moral. His work is an extensive canvass, on which we see, in different groups, the transactions of every part of the world at that period, and every group depicted in its peculiar costume and with its proper accompaniments. Beside the pleasing variety that this circumstance occasions, it gives the book the additional value of being a repository of vast stores of knowledge in antiquities, arts, and literature; and who knows but the *Martyrs* may be in time to the French, what Homer was to the Greeks—a general text book of art and science; a sort of compendious *Encyclopædia*. To avoid the appearance of patch-work, it was incumbent on the author so to connect these various descriptions with his plan, that they should appear to come in naturally and of themselves; and this he has done or attempted to do, by giving them all a relation to the Christian religion. My plan, says he, includes the description of the rise of Christianity throughout the world. His elegant and accurate descriptions of natural scenes constitute, in our opinion, the principal beauties of the work.

The machinery has the merit of being inseparable from the rest of the story, and of being founded on points of popular belief, in a Roman catholic country. The connecting link between the celestial and terrestrial actions is the notion, that God required a second expiatory victim for the sins of the Christians, and that a mere mortal was competent to effect this atonement. We pretend not to determine whether this notion be or be not flattering to the justice of the Deity, or whether in a Roman catholic it be reverential in its analogy. The Deity is made to be satisfied for the sins of the Christians, by the sufferings of Eudorus; but Eudorus is entirely ignorant that he is to procure the general pardon of the Christians, and supposes himself all the time a common martyr: he is even made to apply the efficacy of his sufferings to the relieving of his mother from purgatory. The Christians are equally ignorant that Eudorus is suffering on their account. The doctrine of atonement, in this form of it, is certainly too little reconcilable to our natural feelings; to constitute a good ground for the introduction of the machinery of a poem. But having introduced his ma-



pernatural personages in this far from prepossessing manner, we think he fails of his usual ability in the management of them. We do not agree with him in thinking the books of heaven and of hell the best parts of the work; we think even that his extreme solicitude to defend and celebrate his machinery, displays a consciousness that this is his weakest part. We think also that with the best intentions in the world, the author has been unfortunate in the view that he has presented of our religion. We see here but little of its divine doctrine, and its pure morality; but we see enthusiasm, superstition, bigotry, and intolerance, dignified throughout with the name of Christianity. Our religion wants no such auxiliaries as Paul the Hermit, St. Antony, the Solitary of Mount Veauvius, or the soldier of the Theban legion; and to our shame be it spoken, we have but little respect for St. Eulalia, St. Perpetua, St. Aglae, or even the empress Helen herself. We regard with a very doubtful eye the zeal, with which some of the ancient Christians rushed forward to seize the crown of martyrdom; and we question that morality, which could make Eudorus assist Constantine in escaping from the hands of the emperor, and yet compel him to submit and suffer himself. The author expresses both in his text and notes the opinion, that Christianity is a religion of gloom and melancholy. We conceive on the contrary, that nothing is so well calculated to inspire cheerfulness and serenity, as the certainty it gives us of our noble nature and destination, and the purity that it ought to create in thought and action.

We shall now say a few words on the characters. The only ones in which the reader feels much interest are Eudorus, Cymodoce, Demodocus, and Velleda. Many others are introduced, but they are slightly sketched. Of these, Velleda is a copy of Dido, with great alterations. She is somewhat interesting, but very extravagant, and entirely out of nature. The character of Eudorus is as good, we think, as the author could make it; but after all, the character of a Christian martyr does not appear to its best advantage, in a work of imagination. What is the part that Eudorus plays in the poem, setting aside his recital? He pays his addresses to Cymodoce, and is be-

trothed to her; goes to Rome; pleads for the Christians, is condemned and executed. The best characters are Demodocus and Cymodoce, and both of them are excellent. The author has found the secret of making them very interesting, and they have also the merit of novelty. Demodocus breathes the very soul of Homer, not unfrequently however in his own words.

With regard to the style of the *Martyrs*, as foreigners, we shall not be expected to speak with much understanding; but having made this acknowledgement, we shall say what we think with freedom. Under this head, the first question is, whether the work be poetry or prose. This has been considerably agitated, but is only a dispute about words. It obviously can make no difference in the merit of the *Martyrs*, whether we call it one thing or another; so that the question resolves itself into what is the meaning of the word *poetry*. There can be no doubt but that universal custom, which alone settles the meaning of words, has determined the word *poetry* to mean, not merely the language of excitement and passion, but that language metrically arranged. The works that have been thought exceptions to this usage are very few; so much so, that perhaps there is no instance of note, except the *Télémaque*. There is a whole army of prose translations of poetical works, which some have said must at all events be considered poetry; but the same reasoning would convert an engraving of the *Venus de Medicis* into a piece of statuary. If then poetry does include metre, this work is not poetry; but as it has every other constituent of poetry but metre, it is rather nearer to it than it is to prose. If ever there should be works enough of the same class to require it, this style will perhaps receive a separate name; till then it may be ranked by courtesy with verse. It is a more important question, whether the author was judicious in choosing this style, by whatever name it may be called. Johnson, though he disliked blank verse, said that he could not have wished Milton to have written in rhyme, for he should be sorry to see the *Paradise Lost* differ from what it is: but we freely confess that we think the effect of the *Martyrs* would have been greater, if its fine descriptions and poetical thoughts had been dressed in the garb of verse.

On the whole, we have perused the *Martyrs* with pleasure; and can recommend it with confidence to such persons as have a tincture of classical learning: without which it cannot be relished. It will probably never be very extensively read; but that is no certain proof that it is not good. Milton is a greater poet than Scott, though the latter has vastly more readers; and neither are inferior in genius to Bunyan, who has had ten times as many readers as either:—A translation of the *Martyrs* has recently appeared at New York; but we earnestly advise all, that have it in their power, to peruse the original.

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ARTICLE 4.

*Essays on the nature and principles of Taste. From the Edinburgh edition of 1811. By Archibald Alison, LL. B. Prebendary of Sarum, &c. 8vo. pp. 434. Boston, Cummings & Hilliard, 1812.*

THERE are few subjects on which so much has been written that seem to be less understood, than the nature, the principles, and the objects of taste. There has been much fine writing concerning them, and much loose statement and inaccurate reasoning. There have been some metaphysical speculations; which have had every quality of poetry, except that of being entertaining; and some poetry and eloquence, which have borrowed little from metaphysics except its obscurity. Indeed the first advance into the subject may plunge an inquirer into uncertainty and doubt; for on the question, what taste is, writers have been as little agreed, as upon any other. Instead of its being considered (as seems to us correct) a faculty of justly estimating beauty and deformity in the works of nature and of art, as a mere modification of judgment, some writers have defined it, a capacity of receiving pleasure and pain from these qualities. Into this mistake indeed, one is very naturally led by the ambiguous expression, *the pleasures of taste*, an expression of which we shall hereafter state what we consider to be the meaning. Of the origin of these pleasures opinions have been

as diverse. Various partial solutions to account for their existence have been given, which, applying to a considerable number of cases, have unfortunately been mistaken for general ones. With regard to the beauty of forms merely, one theorist has supposed it to consist in the waving line; another in utility; another in smallness, smoothness, gradual variation and delicacy; another in the union of variety with uniformity; another in the exact adaptation of parts to each other and to a whole, constituting unity and order, and manifesting design; another in the power of exciting in us the perception of relations; and another, as it respects the forms of nature and their imitations by art, in what may be called the standard form of each species, that to which nature appears to be always inclining, and from which the variations in each individual are departures toward deformity. Some of these theories have been supported by men of great ingenuity and talents, and most of them contain sufficient truth to render them plausible. But there are others who reject all reasoning concerning the pleasures of taste; who will not admit that these are enjoyed in conformity to any principle or rule; who maintain on the contrary that there is no standard of taste, and that what is called beautiful is simply that which pleases the majority, and which they agree so to denominate. Against the attempts to resolve the effects of beauty into any general laws of our nature, they produce the different feelings and opinions of different individuals, and still more of different ages and nations. What pleases one, they tell us, is offensive to another. What would be admired in China, would be ridiculous or disgusting in England; and the tastes of our ancestors in things of more importance have become as obsolete, as their fashions in dress.

This subject which has been thus darkened with doubts, and perplexed with the cross lights of so many theories partially true, Mr. Alison has done much to illustrate. He has produced a work highly valuable and interesting. We shall proceed to give an account of his theory; and as we do not fully agree with him in every part of it, we shall state our own opinions, and the grounds of our dissent.

The following then is the theory of Mr. Alison. The

pleasures of taste, according to him, are not *simple* in their character and incapable of analysis. They are not referable to any *one* principle or law of the mind. There is no sense, or senses, by which the qualities of beauty and sublimity are perceived, and felt as their appropriate objects; as is supposed in almost all the theories of music, of architecture, and of sculpture, in the theory of Hogarth, of the Abbé Winkelman, and perhaps in its last results of Sir Joshua Reynolds. There is not either any *one* known and acknowledged principle or affection of the mind, which is the foundation of all the emotions we receive from the objects of taste. The pleasure arising from the perception of beauty is not to be attributed, with M. Diderot, *solely* to the perception of relations; nor with Mr. Hume, to be resolved into our sense of utility; nor with St. Austin, into the pleasure which belongs to the perception of order and design. The effect produced upon the mind by objects of beauty or sublimity is not a simple, but a complex pleasure; and a pleasure, which varies in its character as it is produced by different objects. Whenever this pleasure is felt, some affection is always first excited by the object which affects us, as beautiful or sublime, some simple emotion is produced—an emotion, for instance, of gaiety, or cheerfulness, or tenderness, or melancholy, or solemnity, or elevation, or terror. Consequent to this emotion, a train of ideas is suggested to the imagination; and unless this exercise of the imagination be excited, the emotions of sublimity or beauty are unfelt. The ideas thus suggested are likewise, in all cases, ideas capable of exciting some affection, or feeling, or, as they are termed by Mr. Alison, ideas of emotion, and are in this respect distinguished from our common trains of thought. They are distinguished likewise by their all having a character corresponding to that of the object, by which they are excited. They are either gay, or pathetic, or melancholy, or solemn, or awful, or elevating, &c. according to the nature of the emotion which is first felt. There is thus a general principle of connexion, which pervades the whole, and gives them a certain and definite character. Where this unity of character is not preserved, we do not experience emotions of sublimity or beauty. As therefore, whenever these are felt,

two different effects are produced in the mind, viz. some affection or emotion raised, and the imagination awakened to a train of thought, the peculiar pleasure of the emotion of taste may be resolved into two others, the pleasure attendant on the affection or emotion first mentioned, and that which by the constitution of our nature is annexed to the exercise of the imagination. Every simple emotion, and consequently every object which is capable of producing any simple emotion, *may* be the foundation of the complex emotion of beauty and sublimity.

This is the theory which Mr. Alison has explained in his First Essay, and supported with much force of argument, and with much elegant and apposite illustration. What we are disposed to regard as most essential in his opinions will, we think, be generally received. But though we feel some hesitation in dissenting from a man, who, with peculiar talents for the investigation of his subject, has thought so much, and written so well upon it, yet we are not ready to receive the whole of his theory quite as he has stated it. For our own opinions, however we are greatly indebted to his work—to the comparison of the First Essay with the Second, to the facts and illustrations, which he has collected, to the conclusions, which we think he has established, and to the trains of thought, which his reasonings and observations have suggested. We will state those conclusions with regard to this subject, which, after the reading of his work, have appeared to us most defensible.

We think then that Mr. Alison has established the fact, so that it will not hereafter be called in question, that the pleasures of taste are not the objects of any one distinct faculty, peculiarly adapted to their reception. We think likewise that he has rendered it evident, that they are not referrible to any one principle or acknowledged law of our nature. In settling these points, he has done not a little to throw light upon the subject, and made no small advance in discovering to us their true character. We differ from him in believing, that the pleasurable emotion produced by objects of beauty or sublimity may be simple, proceeding from one cause merely, though it is commonly very complex, proceeding from a variety of causes, and that it is not necessarily attended by any such exercise of the

imagination as he has supposed. It appears to us that the pleasures of taste have no such peculiar characteristic. They are derived from the perception or contemplation of qualities in the works of nature or of art, or in moral and intellectual beings, which, according to the common constitution of our minds, are adapted to afford us pleasure, when perceived or contemplated. Between the pleasures of taste, and any other pleasures derived from the same sources, we believe that there is in the nature of the pleasures themselves, no essential distinction. A very important distinction undoubtedly exists; but we believe it to be founded on the character of the objects from which they are derived. We should say that a simple account of the difference between the pleasures of taste, and other pleasures derived from the works of nature and art, (including among these moral and intellectual qualities,) was this:—that the former are derived from such objects as are adapted to give pleasure to a man of taste, and the latter are not; or what amounts to the same thing, that the former are derived from objects, which, when all their qualities are perceived and correctly felt and estimated, are adapted to give pleasure, and the latter from objects which give pleasure only when their qualities are imperfectly perceived, and incorrectly felt and estimated.

The treatise of Mr. Alison is a standard work. It ought to be read by all, who are desirous of obtaining just notions of taste, or correct principles of criticism. If therefore there be any thing erroneous in his theory, it is of the more importance that it should be pointed out. In the inquiries to which we have been led by it, we shall endeavour to shew in the first place, —from what sources the pleasures of taste are derived. In doing this, we hope to make it evident, that they may be derived from every quality in objects, which is naturally or generally pleasing; and of course that they are not referrible to any one law or principle of our nature. Thus far we have the full support of Mr. Alison. From these conclusions, and from the analyses by which they may be supported, we think a strong presumption will arise, that the pleasures of taste have nothing distinctive in their nature. In this we differ from Mr. Alison, who supposes that they require a peculiar exercise of the im-

agination. This presumption we shall, in the second place, endeavour to support, by pointing out in what consists, as we believe, the true distinction between the pleasures of taste and all other pleasures, derived from the contemplation or perception of the works of nature and of art, viz. in the character of the objects from which they are derived. In doing this we shall endeavour to show how it is, that a man of taste, though he is pleased and displeased on the same principles, and in conformity to the same laws of our nature as the rest of mankind, may be pleased and displeased with very different objects. But the pleasures of taste is merely an elliptical expression, for the pleasures which a man of taste receives from the works of nature and of art. As therefore these pleasures are enjoyed by him on the same principles as they are enjoyed by other men, but proceed from very different objects, it will seem to follow that the distinction between the pleasures of taste and other pleasures is not in the nature of the pleasures themselves, but in the character of the objects from which they are derived.—We shall then make some further remarks, to show that the distinction cannot exist in that circumstance in which Mr. Alison has placed it.

It appears to us then, in the first place, that the pleasurable emotion of taste may be simple and uncompounded, having one cause only for its production. Such pleasure we think, to give one instance, may arise from the mere perception of utility in an object. In his second Essay Mr. Alison has the following passage.

“The third source of the *RELATIVE* beauty of forms, is *UTILITY*. That the expression of this quality is sufficient to give beauty to forms, and that forms of the most different and opposite kinds become beautiful from this expression, are facts which have often been observed, and which are within the reach of every person's observation. I shall not therefore presume to add any illustrations on a subject which has already been so beautifully illustrated by Mr. Smith, in the most eloquent work on the subject of *MORALS*, that modern Europe has produced.” p. 303.

Mr. Alison would here, we presume, explain that the mere perception of utility does not give us a pleasure of taste, and that we feel no beauty unless this perception be attended likewise



with an exercise of the imagination. This is a point which we shall notice hereafter.

We believe in like manner, that we may enjoy a simple and uncompounded pleasure, and that, a pleasure of taste, in all cases where a single quality or attribute of an object is regarded, and the perception of this quality produces pleasure.

But in most cases we believe, that the pleasurable emotion produced by objects of beauty or sublimity is very complex in its character; produced by a variety of very different causes; and to be resolved into various more simple pleasures. We will give some examples.

In contemplating a beautiful and inhabited landscape; one source of pleasure is the natural beauty of the objects present to our view; the forms, and colors, and motions, which are before us; the various green of fields and woods, showing itself in many different shades, some dark and deep, some vivid and glossy, and some light and pale—and this contrasted with the show of animals, scattered over the prospect; with the artificial colors of buildings; and the works of man, the glittering of spires and windows, and the dusky redness of a distant city.—We are pleased with the cerulean hue of the ocean, varying as it is ruffled by winds, and by the lights and shades, which pass over it; with the blue heavens and the white fleecy clouds, and the general effect of sunshine and of shade; these are all pleasing to us, as exhibiting varieties of color; beautiful in themselves and beautiful by contrast and connexion. From the natural beauty of forms and motions we receive a pleasure of the same kind as we do from that of colors. We are gratified by the waving surface of vallies and hills, contrasted with the level extent of meadows and fields; by the forms of trees, some spiry and slender, others spreading and pendulous, and others shooting forth strong branches and displaying an unbroken mass of leaves; by the regular works of architecture, by the meandering course of rivers, by the straight and uniform direction of great roads, by the ever-varying outline where the ocean meets the land, and by the arch of heaven spreading its concave dome over the whole prospect. The motions we perceive are not less pleasing from their natural

beauty than the forms and colors. The waving of trees, the undulating motion of fields of grain as they are swept by the wind, the light and bounding agility of young animals, the slow and heavy passage of a loaded waggon, the curling of wreaths of smoke, or its ascending in a straight, unbroken column and spreading itself above; the winding flow of a river, the continual heaving of the ocean, and the floating of the clouds, are all pleasing. The pleasure arising from beautiful forms, and motions, and colors, is still more heightened by their connexion, and by their harmonizing with each other, and all contributing to produce an uniform effect.

We have hitherto been speaking of the natural beauty of these objects, and in describing it have used terms, literally and in their proper sense, significant of qualities of matter. This we have done in reference to Mr. Alison's theory respecting the beauty of material objects and to one of the arguments, by which he has supported it. He supposes that there is no inherent and intrinsic beauty in these objects; that of forms, and colors, and motions, none are essentially and in themselves more pleasing than others, but that they derive all their beauty from their being directly or indirectly expressive of pleasing or interesting qualities of mind. One argument which he adduces in proof of this is, that the epithets, by which material beauty is described are, in common language, always such as are expressive of moral qualities. In the following passage he states this argument in particular application to beautiful forms:—

"If such forms were in themselves beautiful, it is reasonable to think that this should be expressed in language, and that the circumstances of the form should be assigned as the cause of our emotion. If, on the contrary, such forms are beautiful from their being expressive of particular qualities, it is equally reasonable to think, that, in common language, this expression should be assigned as the cause of the emotion. That the latter is the case, cannot, I think, well be disputed. No man, when he is speaking of the beauty of any form, unless he has some theory in his mind, thinks of ascribing it to the peculiar nature of the form, or of describing its beauty to other people, as consisting in this form. The terms, on the contrary, which are generally used upon these occasions, are such as signify some quality of which the form is expressive; and the epithets by which the beauty of the form is marked, are

with as the significant of these qualities. Among these qualities, those of gentleness, fineness, or delicacy, as far as I can judge, are the most remarkable, and the most generally expressed in common language. In describing the beautiful forms of ground, we speak of gentle declivities, and gentle swells. In describing the beautiful forms of water, we speak of a ~~solid~~ <sup>gentle</sup> ~~current~~ <sup>flow</sup>, gentle falls, soft windings, a tranquil stream. In describing the beautiful forms of the vegetable kingdom, we use a similar language. The delicacy of flowers, of foliage, of the young shoots of trees and shrubs, are expressions every where to be heard, and which every where convey the belief of beauty in these forms. In the same manner, in those ornamental forms, which are the production of art, we employ the same language to express our opinion of their beauty. The delicacy of a wreath, of a festoon, of drapery, of a column, or of a vase, are terms universally employed, and employed to signify the reason of our admiration of their forms." pp. 189, 190.

"If, however, there were any original and independent beauty in particular forms, the description of this form would be alone sufficient to convey the idea of its beauty, and the circumstance of its delicacy or fineness would be as little able to convey this idea, as that of its colour." p. 191.

Now we have no doubt that there is a great deal of truth in Mr. Alison's theory respecting material beauty; and we believe, that epithets, such as he has mentioned, are often, though by no means always, the most expressive and poetical. Still we believe that the description of natural scenery may be given in terms significant merely of material qualities, and yet such as to produce a pleasing effect. Mr. Addison says, that poets borrow more of their epithets from colors than from any other topic.\*

But to what source the pleasure, arising from what may be called the natural beauty of objects, is to be referred, is not essential to our present inquiry. Such a pleasure there undoubtedly is; quite distinct from any others we are about to mention, and that goes to constitute a part of the very complex, pleasurable emotion of taste, which we may enjoy from the prospect of a beautiful landscape. Another quite different sort of pleasure such a prospect may afford us, a pleasure arising from the impressions it produces of human happiness and animal enjoyment. It may bring before the mind all the images of rural

activity, which are each favorite subjects of poetry, and sometimes constitute so pleasing visions of fancy. It may suggest the images of a life of contented industry, of regular employments and regular pleasures, and free from care, turmoil, and vice. The view of buildings, shaded with trees or surrounded with cultivated grounds, gives us an impression of ease, and competence, and domestic happiness; we people them with beings of our imagination, and indulge ourselves in conferring on their supposed inhabitants all the pleasing, all the estimable qualities, which we wish them to possess. The sight and the voices of men at labor in a field is pleasing, for labor, under such circumstance, is commonly connected with health, activity, and the indulgence of jollity and mirth. We derive pleasure likewise from the view of animals, grazing, or ruminating in the shade, or cooling themselves in the waters; and from the frolic, and bounding, and sports of their young. We are gratified with the cheerful songs and easy flight of birds. We even personify and confer imaginary happiness, and bestow moral qualities on inanimate beings, and then sympathize with them, and exercise pleasing affections toward them, as if they were living. Turning from the country around us, the prospect of a city may in like manner suggest pleasing images. It may remind us of the busy hum of men, of the pleasures of continual occupation, of successful acquisition, of high enterprize, and of active virtue. It may remind us of its elegance, its splendor, and its refinement,

its palaces, its ladies, and its pomp.—

Here then, beside the natural beauty of the objects, which a fine landscape may present, we perceive two other distinct sources of that pleasurable emotion of taste, which we receive from its prospect. One of them is the pleasure arising from the contemplation of happiness; the other that arising from the contemplation of virtue; from our approbation of one, and our sympathy with the other. We imagine its inhabitants as happy and virtuous, and we please ourselves with the imagination. We should view, with a great difference of interest and delight, an uninhabited landscape, however rich in natural beauty

of scenery, from what we should contemplate one, in which we perceived the habitations of men, however rude and insignificant.

Another source of our pleasure may be devotional feelings. Our thoughts may be directed to the Author of all that we behold. We may regard all around us as the effects of infinite wisdom and power, ministering to infinite goodness. We may regard ourselves in our highest character as objects of the care, the love, and the providence of God. Motion, and life, and beauty, and happiness, are before us; but in these we do not rest; they have become to us the visible signs of the immediate presence and energy of the animating principle of all things. We see the adaptation of the objects which we behold to the support, the comfort, and the delight of men, and of the inferior animals; the fact itself is pleasing and grateful; but it affords a deeper pleasure, when it leads us to the contemplation of Him, by whose infinite goodness, this adaptation is made.

"His presence, who made all so fair, perceived  
"Makes all still fairer."

The poet of the Seasons, as well as the author of the Task, has, in many parts of his work, beautifully illustrated the fact, how naturally the admiration of nature terminates in the adoration of God.

From such a scene as has been imagined, we may enjoy, not only the pleasures which have been described, but another, likewise of a very different character, which is the result of all the preceding. We may enjoy a pleasure arising from complacency in ourselves, from a feeling of self approbation, derived from the consciousness that we are capable of estimating what is beautiful, and of being affected in a proper manner by objects, whose contemplation is the more grateful, as the mind is more cultivated and refined.

We have thus endeavoured to analyze the pleasurable emotion, which is produced by the view of a beautiful landscape. We do not pretend that the pleasures into which we have resolved it are all of them simple or ultimate pleasures; nor is it necessary to our purpose to consider, whether they be so or

not. What we wish to have observed is, 1. That they are pleasures of very different classes, some of them wholly unlike each other, and incapable, as we believe, of being resolved into the operation of any one general law of our nature; and 2. That they are pleasures not confined to men of taste, but which all men, according to the common principles of our nature, are adapted and disposed to enjoy.

If we now suppose a fine landscape represented by a picture; we may enjoy from the picture the same pleasures which we should derive from reality; some of them however not in the same degree. But to compensate for this, we admit have two new pleasures superadded to our former ones; that is, if the first which we are about to mention be not, as it seems to us it is not, wholly resolvable into the latter.

One of them then is the pleasure we receive from the picture, as a striking resemblance of another object, which is in itself very different. We believe that there is a pleasure of a distinct class, (to whatever ultimate principle it is to be referred), arising from this circumstance. We believe that we are gratified merely by the perception of a strong resemblance, between two things in themselves so unlike, as a painted canvas and a natural landscape; a piece of marble and a living and intellectual being; the motions of an automaton and those of an agent, who has will and design. The perception of strong similitude existing with strong dissimilitude, we think gives us pleasure; and a pleasure distinct in its character from that arising from the skill of the artist by which it is produced.

But however this may be, there can be no doubt that a very considerable part of the pleasure, which we receive from a beautiful picture; or from any object of art, is commonly derived from the perception of the skill, the intellectual powers; and the moral qualities of its author. To minds which possess certain habits of observation, to professed critics and connoisseurs, this skill and talents displayed by the artist seem indeed to be often the principal source of gratification. But in most works of art, not only the skill and talents, but the moral character of their author is discovered, and either afford us pleasure, or produce disgust.

We may observe farther, (though it is not immediately our present purpose,) that painting or poetry may have an advantage over nature, in the separation and removal of all those objects or circumstances which are unpleasant; and which, existing in union with what affords us delight, so frequently, in nature and real life, tend to diminish our gratification—in avoiding those which contribute nothing to unity of effect, or to the general impression, which any scene is adapted to produce;—and in combining and uniting more pleasing objects and images, than nature or reality ever present in one scene or prospect. We may enjoy therefore from the painting or description of a fine landscape, not only the same pleasures, (though inferior in degree,) which we should derive from it if present to our view; but pleasures unalloyed by those offending circumstances which so often exist in reality; and we may have a more beautiful landscape displayed before our imagination, than can any where be found in nature. But beside this, thoughts, resemblances, and images may be suggested to our minds; by the skill of the poet, and perhaps also by that of the painter, which would not have spontaneously occurred to us; and latent beauties which we should not have detected, but have passed over without observation, may be brought forward and made to contribute to our enjoyment. The artist not merely opens to our view the beauties of nature, but he leads us through her walks, and points out to us what we ought particularly to notice. We make these remarks, in passing, merely to illustrate a superiority, which painting or poetry may have over nature and reality; not from the introduction of new sources of pleasure, (those of painting we have already noticed,) but from the skilful combination and use of such as are furnished by nature.

Returning to the investigation of the distinct sources of the pleasures of taste, we may suppose a beautiful natural prospect described in poetry. In such a description, there are three new sources of pleasure, quite distinct from any before mentioned. One of them is the delicate choice and beautiful adaptation of words to express the intended meaning; the pleasure arising from which is to be referred perhaps to our perception of fit-

ness and congruity. Another is the harmony of verse, which produces the pleasure, that by the constitution of our nature accompanies a regular succession of related sounds. This however is not the only pleasure arising from verse. Merely as a succession of sounds, it may, in its different modifications, be made slightly expressive of moral emotion, or of what is adapted to produce moral emotion. A rapid measure tends to excite cheerfulness and gaiety; a slow measure is felt as melancholy and plaintive. That there may be a relation between the sound and the sense is generally believed; and for ourselves we think there is little philosophy in the scepticism of Dr. Johnson upon this subject.\*

But we may enjoy yet another pleasure from the view which the poet opens to us of his own mind—of the movements of his own affections and imagination, as they are operated upon by the objects he is describing. In this respect poetry has a great advantage over painting. The painter can, if at all, but very imperfectly, give us the impression of those feelings, which the objects he represents produce in his own mind. He must exhibit his scenes and figures, and trusting to our observation, leave them to produce their unassisted effect. He cannot operate upon us through the medium of our sympathy. This on the contrary is one of the most powerful means which can be employed by the poet, and still more by the orator. The former of these not only displays before us what is beautiful or striking, but he produces emotion in us, because we perceive that he himself is moved. The spell which he has formed seizes on himself, and he draws us within its influence. The language of the poet is not that of description merely, but of sentiment and passion. Many of his epithets are of the kind before mentioned, which tell us not what objects are in themselves, but what they are in their effects; not what they are as seen, but what they are as felt. It is to this enthusiasm of the poet, of which we are speaking, that the following passage of the Minstrel owes not a little of its effect:

“O how canst thou renounce the boundless store  
Of charms which Nature to her votary yields!

\* See his *Life of Pope*.



The warbling woodland, the resounding shout,  
 The pomp of groves, and garniture of fields;  
 All that the genial ray of morning gilds,  
 And all that echoes to the song of even,  
 All that the mountain's sheltering bosom shields,  
 And all the dread magnificence of heaven,  
 O how canst thou renounce, and hope to be forgiven!"

To some readers of poetry, sympathy with the poet, we believe, constitutes not unfrequently their principal pleasure. They are delighted with fine passages, whose meaning they indistinctly comprehend, and carried away not so much by the objects presented to their mind, as by the enthusiasm with which they are displayed. To the most cultivated and intelligent however, the general character which an author discovers, and the feelings which he displays on particular occasions, may be among the chief sources of pleasure from his writings.

We have thus by the examples of a natural landscape, of its representation in painting, and of its description in poetry, endeavoured to shew, what are some of the sources from which the pleasures of taste are derived, and what is the character of these pleasures. They may, we see, be derived from the perception of utility, as formerly mentioned; from the natural beauty, or in other words, the forms, colors, and motions of objects; from the contemplation of human happiness, and still more from the contemplation of human virtue and excellence; from thoughts of God, of his goodness and wisdom, and of ourselves in our connexion with him; from the perception of resemblance with strong dissimilitude; from admiration of skill and power; from the nice adaptation of words to the meaning intended to be expressed; from the harmony of verse; and from the discovery which a poet makes to us of his mind and feelings. Some of these different sources of the pleasures of taste are, it is evident, in themselves wholly distinct and dissimilar. They can affect us through no common principle or capacity of our nature. They have nothing in common which does not belong to every other class of objects or qualities, whose perception or contemplation affords us pleasure.

By analyses such as the preceding, we think it may be made

evident, that we have no capacity of enjoying pleasure from the objects of nature or art, as perceived or contemplated, through which the pleasures of taste may not be received, and that there are no sources of pleasure in these objects, so considered, by which they may not be afforded. Thus far, as we have mentioned, our conclusions coincide with those of Mr. Alison. But we think it may further be made to appear, partly at least, by such analyses, that there is no class of innocent pleasures derived from the perception or contemplation of such objects, to which the pleasures of taste may not belong; and that there is no essential distinction between them and any other, derived from the same sources; that, abstractly considered, what is PLEASING in an object when perceived or contemplated is what is BEAUTIFUL.

In these conclusions, we are supported by the high authority of Mr. Stewart in his Essay of the Beautiful. Their defence indeed is by no means the purpose of his Essay; but in a part of it he thus expresses himself:—"The conjectures," he says, "of various modern writers, concerning the principles upon which different forms produce their effects, and the conclusions of some of them (particularly of Hogarth) with respect to the waving line, do great honor to their ingenuity, and may probably admit, in some of the arts, of very useful practical applications: but philosophical distinctness, as well as universal practice, requires, that the meaning of the word Beauty, instead of being restricted in conformity to any partial system whatever, should continue to be the *generic word for expressing every quality, which, in the works either of nature or of art, contributes to render them agreeable to the eye.*"

Mr. Stewart supposes the word *beautiful*, by a process of generalization, to be extended to all the pleasing qualities, of which material objects are expressive; to all the agreeable images of poetry, and to all the other causes of delight, which poetry affords; to every thing, which gives us pleasure in the objects of nature or art.—"As the word Beauty," he says, "is naturally transferred from colors and forms to the other pleasing qualities, which may be associated with these, and to the various moral qualities of which they may be expressive; so the

same word is insensibly extended from those images, which form at once the characteristic feature, and the most fascinating charm of poetry, to the numberless other sources of delight, which it opens. The meaning of the word *beautiful* becomes thus infinitely more general than before; and of course the objects of taste are infinitely multiplied."

The statements and analyses which we have given seem to lead to the conclusion, that there is no essential distinction, in their own nature, between the pleasures of taste and any other pleasures derived from the objects of nature or art, as perceived or contemplated. This conclusion we shall endeavour further to establish by what follows. We shall now proceed, to point out in what we conceive the true distinction between them and such other pleasures to consist, viz.—in the objects from which they are derived. We shall show how it is, that a man of taste, though he is pleased on the same principles, and in conformity to the same laws as the rest of mankind, may yet receive pleasure from very different objects; and we shall apply this fact to support the distinction we are endeavouring to establish.

Whatever accounts have been given of the faculty of taste, it without doubt implies the power of judging concerning certain subjects. A man, who on these subjects judges correctly, is a man of good taste. The subjects, about which taste is exercised, are the works of nature and the productions of art, comprehending under these two classes moral and intellectual qualities. It may, we think, be defined, the power of properly estimating what is pleasing and what is displeasing in the perception of these objects. This faculty cannot exist in a very high degree, without a more than ordinary sensibility to every kind of beauty, and without much knowledge concerning the objects about which it is conversant. He therefore, who has the sensibility, the knowledge, and the judgment, necessary to a fine taste, is very differently affected by the same objects, from one in whom these qualities exist only in that very imperfect degree, in which they are commonly found united. He knows where to look for beauty; the excellence, which is latent to another, is distinctly visible to him; his eye is more quick and

his vision is enlarged; he perceives unity, design, and adaptation, where a less experienced observer sees only a combination or succession of parts, without discerning their relation to one purpose. He has all the knowledge, the capacities, and the feelings, to which genius and invention address themselves. He understands their language, he perceives its more latent expression as well as its direct meaning, and comprehends the whole of their intention. He is conversant and familiar with those objects about which they employ themselves, and at once perceives and feels their successful efforts. In his mind are all those images, and recollections, and trains of thought, which the artist, the poet, and the orator summon to their aid; and on whose awakened influence the effect of their impressions, and the effect also of natural beauty, so much depend. He has no partial and depraved relish for any particular, and especially for any inferior sort of excellence, which may prevent him from noticing the faults and deformities with which it is connected, or withdraw his attention from beauties of an higher character. He has lost his admiration for the ruder in having become acquainted with the more finished productions of art. He has examined different objects of the same class, and can estimate their relative value. He has acquired that, which is the result only of much knowledge and observation of the works of art, an ability to estimate the difficulty of their execution, and consequently the skill and power which they discover.

The man of taste far more readily perceives and more strongly feels those qualities which afford pleasure; he receives gratification from them only when they exist in a considerable degree of excellence, united in their proper proportions, and disconnected from other qualities adapted to give offence; but what pleases him is essentially of the same character with what pleases every other. With views more comprehensive, he sees design where another perceives it not; but the perception of design affords all men pleasure. With sensibility more alive and a mind more attentive, he observes the signs and indications of moral and intellectual excellence, where another beholds them not; but to all men whose natural feelings are not depraved, the contemplation of moral and intellectual excellence is

pleasing. With more familiarity with the works of art, he marks displays of skill and power, which another may neglect, but the display of skill and power affects all men with admiration. With far more knowledge of human nature, of our passions, and of the motives, by which we are influenced, he perceives the adaptation of eloquence to its purpose, or the correctness of any representations of human character and conduct; but every one is delighted, as far as he does in fact perceive this adaptation or this correctness.

It is sufficiently apparent, from what has been stated, how a man of taste, though he is pleased and offended in conformity to the same laws of our nature that other men are pleased and offended, may yet receive pleasure from objects which do not afford it to another. Nor is it difficult to be accounted for, in conformity to the same fact, how that which pleases another may afford him no pleasure, or affect him with disgust; how the rhetoric, with which another is delighted, he may listen to with absolute offence; how the wit and raillery, which another may enjoy, he may hear with gravity and pain; and, not to multiply instances, how the books which are the favorite reading of many, may afford him nothing but "serious anguish and an aching head." All this we believe may take place, without supposing that he is pleased or offended on any different principles, than the rest of mankind. We will give a few solutions of the difficulty, as it presents itself in different forms. It is, we think, as fairly to be accounted for, as the fact that when all men have a natural feeling of heat, the same temperature, may appear cold and disagreeable to one, which is warm and comfortable to another; or that of two men, who both have a value for property, one may consider those possessions as affording him ease and affluence, to which if the other were reduced he would feel himself in poverty and distress. If we suppose then a very common case, that a public speaker, who delights and moves some of his audience, is heard with disgust by a man of taste, we may account for it in various ways, conformably to the conclusions already stated. One pleasure which an orator may afford arises from the communication of knowledge, from the giving us new views of his subject, or from the vivid im-

pression, and distinct statement of ideas, which we had before indistinctly and obscurely. If we suppose him then to have an audience all equally capable of receiving pleasure from this source, yet in proportion to their acquaintance with his subject, his discourse may appear to some trite, diffuse, and tedious, and to others original and interesting. It will in fact deserve one or the other character, according as he has judged correctly of the degree of knowledge to be expected in his audience. Yet if he have adapted it to those who are much more ignorant than the generality, offensive as it will be to men of taste, it may afford those, to whom it is adapted, instruction and entertainment.—Again, our pleasure in hearing a speaker on any important subject depends very much on our belief of his sincerity and earnestness. Supposing his hearers to have no interest against what he is endeavouring to effect, every one is gratified and engaged in his favor as far as he discerns, or thinks he discerns the proofs and signs of these qualities. But there are few things on which men's judgments differ more, and the judgment of the many seems to be less correct, than in estimating and distinguishing the real and assumed expressions of feeling. What one is delighted with as the true marks of interest and ardor, another of more discernment may turn from in disgust, as theatrical declamation, or as the frigid and heartless display of one who has no other aim than to be thought an orator, and is detected in his artifices.

These are examples of those solutions, that may in all cases be given of the difficulty we have stated: We cannot enter largely into the subject, but we will mention a few more general ones. First then, a man of taste may turn with neglect or offence from those ruder productions of art, from which men of uncultivated minds may receive pleasure. It is not that the latter are pleased with what offends him, with their imperfection, and their rudeness—they are gratified on the contrary with those qualities, which, existing in an higher degree, afford him delight. They are pleased with the objects of their enjoyment on account of their approach toward excellence, and not on account of their deformities. It is this which Cicero has expressed in the following pas-

sage of the Offices:—“vulgus, quid absit. à perfecto, non fere intelligit: quatenus autem intelligit, nihil putat prætermisum, quod item in poematibus, et picturis usu evenit, in aliisque compluribus, ut delectetur imperfecti, laudentque ea, quæ laudanda non sint: ob eam (credo) causam, quod inest in his aliquid præbî, quod capiat ignaros, qui idem, quid in unaquaque re visû sit, nequeant judicare; itaque, cum sunt docti a peritis, facile desistunt à sententia.”\*

The same thing is stated by Mr. Burke in the Introduction to his Essay on taste, in the following passage, in which however he inaccurately, as it seems to us, uses the word *taste* to signify a capacity of receiving pleasure.—“It is,” he says, “from difference in knowledge, that what we commonly, though with no great exactness, call a difference in taste proceeds. A man to whom sculpture is new, sees a barber’s block, or some ordinary piece of statuary; he is immediately struck and pleased, because he sees something like an human figure; and entirely taken up with this likeness, he does not at all attend to its defects. No person, I believe, at the first time of seeing a piece of imitation ever did. Some time after, we suppose that this novice lights upon a more artificial work of the same nature; he now begins to look with contempt on what he admired at first; not that he admired it even then for its unlikeness to a man, but for that general, though inaccurate resemblance which it bore to the human figure. What he admired at different times in these so different figures, is strictly the same; and though his knowledge is improved, his taste is not altered. Hitherto his mistake was from a want of knowledge in art, and this arose from his inexperience; but he may be still deficient from a want of knowledge in nature. For it is possible that the man in question may stop here, and that the master-piece

\* The vulgar hardly perceive what is wanting to perfection, as far as they do perceive, they think that nothing is deficient. So it is common with regard to poems, and pictures, and many other things, that those who want skill are delighted, and praise such as ought not to be praised, because, in my opinion, there is something good in them, which takes the ignorant, who are unable to judge of their faults; therefore, when they are taught by those who have skill, they readily give up their opinion.

of a great hand may please him no more than the middling performance of a vulgar artist; and this not for want of better or higher relish, but because all men do not observe with sufficient accuracy on the human figure to enable them to judge properly of an imitation of it." Mr. Burke then proceeds to illustrate, in a striking and very lively manner, the fact that men are very differently affected by the same objects, not from any difference of natural feeling, but from difference in the degrees of their knowledge.

This principle then will account for some of the strong differences of feeling among mankind. Another cause of these is, that few men have what we suppose to be found in a man of taste, an equal and impartial relish for the different kinds of beauty. They value one kind at the expense of another. Whenever they find their favorite excellence, they are careless about the impropriety of its introduction, the sacrifice of higher beauty to its attainment, or the offending circumstances, with which it is accompanied. The audience who were delighted with the puns and quibbles, with which Shakspeare has so often marred the dignity, and cast ridicule upon the distress of his characters, were pleased with wit, in conformity to the same principles of our nature, on which the man of taste is delighted with that of Addison or Goldsmith. They were not affected by the want of nature and propriety, in what they admired, for two reasons. One of them was their ignorance. If their attention had been directed to the incongruity of which we speak, they would have been capable of but very imperfectly perceiving it. They had no familiarity, either in real life or in imagination, with such scenes as the poet was describing; and therefore were unable to judge what was natural or unnatural, proper or improper, in their representation. The other cause which is to our immediate purpose is, that their attention was wholly engrossed by their expected and favorite gratification, and withdrawn from all the circumstances with which it was accompanied.

That which we are explaining is a very common cause of false taste. A good man, for instance, may be pleased with a work of which he approves the morality, or which appears



to be written with right feelings and intentions; though its purpose may be very imperfectly accomplished, and even though it may have nothing but its purpose to recommend it. A connoisseur may admire a production of art which displays the skill and talents of its author, though much higher excellence may be sacrificed, as it often is, to this display. A man who has party feelings may be pleased with a treatise, advocating his principles, of which the general style and character is such, that if merely the opinions it advances were changed, it would affect him with disgust. All men are apt to be prejudiced in favor of that kind of excellence, which they think most within their own power. It is not an uncommon cause, why works of moderate merit are preferred to those of far higher excellence, that their admirers feel themselves capable of accomplishing the former, and are willing to estimate as highly as possible what they themselves may attain.

Another cause of the opposition of sentiment for which we are accounting is, that the natural feelings of many are corrupted and destroyed by moral depravity and debasement. A great part of the pleasures of taste arise from the direct contemplation of moral qualities, which are useful, amiable, or sublime, or from the perception of the signs and characters of these, or of qualities resembling these, in sensible objects. But that moral excellence, for which one cultivates no taste, as it respects his own character, he can little be expected to admire in others. It can hardly be thought that a man, ambitious, cruel, and disposed to sacrifice others to his passions, would receive any pleasure from the interesting picture of piety and resignation, exhibited by Mackenzie in the story of La Roche. Nor would one, habitually artful, selfish, and low in his purposes, be affected with any delight, from the moral sublimity of the Epistle of Pope to the Earl of Oxford. A man habitually bad, habitually endeavours, either directly or indirectly, to justify himself in dispositions, feelings, and conduct, the reverse of such as are adapted to give pleasure in their contemplation to a well regulated mind. The obliquity of judgment, which is thus produced, very greatly affects his estimate of others as

well as of himself. But further, his approbation of what is morally good in others must be attended with condemnation of himself. So far therefore from its affording him pleasure, it is the cause of pain; and this pain he not unfrequently endeavours to diminish or remove, by attempting to cast ridicule or suspicion upon the virtue of those around him. With regard to the scenes of nature, it has been often observed, that peace and innocence are necessary to their enjoyment. It is only the mind which is pure and tranquil, that receives the images of their beauty; they are not to be found in that which is dark and turbid with stormy passions. "The conclusion," says Mr. Alison, near the end of his second essay, "in which I wish to rest, is, THAT THE BEAUTY AND SUBLIMITY WHICH ARE FIRST IN THE VARIOUS APPEARANCES OF MATTER, ARE FINALLY TO BE ASCRIBED TO THEIR EXPRESSION OF MIND; OR TO THEIR BEING, EITHER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, THE SIGNS OF THOSE QUALITIES OF MIND WHICH ARE FITTED, BY THE CONSTITUTION OF OUR NATURE, TO AFFECT US WITH PLEASING OR INTERESTING EMOTION." We are not disposed wholly to accede to this conclusion. But that it is in a great degree true, we think will not be doubted by one, who has attentively considered the statements and reasonings upon which it is founded. If it be so, it is obvious how much all a man's judgments and feelings of beauty must be affected by moral depravity, and of how large a portion of all the pleasures, which nature or art can afford, a bad man deprives himself. "Beauty," says the poet, in language of which we will not vouch for the philosophical correctness, but which is sufficiently true for our purpose, "Beauty"

"—was sent from heaven,  
 The lovely mistress of truth and good;  
 In this dark world, for truth and good are rare;  
 And beauty dwells in them, and they in her,  
 With like participation."

In the language of ancient Greece, the same word was significant of *the beautiful* and *the good*; and in the philosophy, with which Akenside was so deeply imbued, one phrase<sup>\*</sup> expressed

<sup>\*</sup> To *salutem*.

and identified to the sense, ~~superior beauty and superior~~  
MORAL GOODNESS.

It has been often said that taste and virtue are nearly allied. They are so nearly allied, that the enjoyment of the pleasures of taste not unfrequently implies the existence of virtuous dispositions and feelings, and those pleasures, even when derived from inqumate objects, may often be resolved into the approbation and love of what is morally right. What Quintilian therefore has made necessary to an orator, is quite as much required in him who would feel and judge correctly respecting the qualities of objects—that he should be a good man.

We have thus endeavoured at once to establish the fact, and to show how it is, that a man of taste, though he is pleased on the same principles and by the same qualities, considered in the abstract, as other men, the operation of whose natural feelings is not counteracted, may yet receive pleasure from objects very different from such as afford it to others. He receives pleasure from such objects as are adapted to afford it, when all their qualities are fully known and correctly felt and estimated; they receive it from such as, when compared with other productions of art or nature, are found to be rude or imperfect, or from such as please only when those qualities which affect them as beautiful are not perceived in all their relations, or not correctly estimated in regard to their comparative importance. To the general class of pleasures afforded by the works of nature and art, the pleasures of taste are undoubtedly to be referred. That they may have their origin in every pleasing quality of such objects, can, we think, be established by such analyses as we have before given; and is, as it seems to us, fully proved by Mr. Alison. What is beautiful is nothing more, abstractly considered, than what is pleasing in the perception or contemplation. The pleasures of taste therefore are enjoyed on the same principles, and in conformity to the same laws of our nature, as all other intellectual pleasures which are afforded directly and immediately by nature or art. Some other ground of distinction therefore is to be sought for, than any which exists in the character of the pleasures themselves. This distinction we believe is to be found in that circumstance which we have stated,

to the objects from which they are derived. It is the distinction which appears to us to be conformable to the common use of language, and the common sentiments of mankind. Whatever pleasures are correctly conformed to the character of the objects from which they are derived, whatever pleasures imply taste; or, in other words, a correct and well regulated sensibility, a full knowledge of the object which affords enjoyment, both in itself and as compared with other objects of the same class, and a just estimate of its qualities, are, we believe, always denominated pleasures of taste; and any pleasures which are in a considerable degree incorrectly conformed to the nature of the objects from which they are derived, are never so denominated. The pleasures of taste then are nothing more than the pleasures of a man who feels and judges correctly.

If that which we have stated be the distinguishing characteristic of the pleasures of taste, this cannot of course consist in that circumstance in which it is placed by Mr. Alison. He conceives, as we have mentioned, that "every simple emotion, and therefore every object which is capable of producing any simple emotion, may be the foundation of the complex emotion of beauty or sublimity." But in order to the existence of the latter, he considers it necessary, that beside the immediate pleasure afforded by the object itself, it should suggest a train of ideas to the imagination, corresponding in character and effect to the object by which they are excited. By this exercise of the imagination, he considers the pleasures of taste to be distinguished from all other pleasures. But with regard to this, it may be said, 1. that this exercise of the imagination may exist in union with the simple emotion produced by the perception or contemplation of an object, and yet no pleasure of taste be enjoyed. If we suppose a person, as is not an uncommon case, to be gratified with low and disgusting images and descriptions, these may suggest trains of thought to his imagination; yet we should hardly say that his pleasures were those of taste. The same may be said with regard to all pleasures derived from objects which are not in themselves intrinsically pleasing or beautiful. These may all be attended with the exercise of the imagination; but this will not constitute them

pleasures of taste. Otherwise we must maintain that these pleasures may be felt, where the faculty itself is wanting, and where their very enjoyment proves its absence.

But 2. we do not believe that the pleasures of taste are always attended with such an exercise of the imagination, as Mr. Alison supposes. We will give his general statement on this subject, and our readers will be gratified to have the dryness of a metaphysical discussion relieved, by a passage of so much richness and elegance of expression.

"When any object, either of sublimity or beauty, is presented to the mind, I believe every man is conscious of a train of thought being immediately awakened in his imagination, analogous to the character or expression of the original object. The simple perception of the object, we frequently find, is insufficient to excite these emotions, unless it is accompanied with this operation of mind, unless, according to common expression, our imagination is seized, and our fancy busied in the pursuit of all those trains of thought, which are allied to this character of expression.

"Thus, when we feel either the beauty or sublimity of natural scenery—the gay lustre of a morning in spring, or the mild radiance of a summer evening—the savage majesty of a wintry storm, or the wild magnificence of a tempestuous ocean—we are conscious of a variety of images in our minds, very different from those which the objects themselves can present to the eye. Trains of pleasing or of solemn thought arise spontaneously within our minds; our hearts swell with emotions, of which the objects before us seem to afford no adequate cause; and we are never so much satiated with delight, as when, in recalling our attention, we are unable to trace either the progress or the connexion of those thoughts, which have passed with so much rapidity through our imagination.

"The effect of the different arts of taste is similar. . . The landscapes of Claude Lorrain, the music of Handel, the poetry of Milton, excite feeble emotions in our minds, when our attention is confined to the qualities they present to our senses, or when it is to such qualities of their composition that we turn our regard. It is then, only, we feel the sublimity or beauty of their productions, when our imaginations are kindled by their power, when we lose ourselves amid the number of images that pass before our minds, and when we waken at last from this play of fancy, as from the charm of a romantic dream." pp. 18, 19.

Now we have no doubt that there is a great deal of truth in this statement. We believe that in certain minds, and in cer-

tain states of mind, the perception of beauty or sublimity produces such trains of thought as Mr. Afson describes. Indeed, when our minds are not preoccupied by some strong feeling, any vivid impression naturally gives its own color to the ideas which succeed. The ever-varying current of our thoughts, when not already propelled by any strong impulse, readily receives any new direction, and flows into any channel which may be opened for its reception. Those associations which are ever watching the call of the objects to which they are allied, when these objects are presented, will collect together, and crowd upon our notice. All this takes place however only when the mind is not very vividly impressed by the objects presented, or when this impression has subsided. An object of great beauty or sublimity seizes and occupies our whole minds, and fixes them upon itself. To give not one of the most forcible examples, we believe that the person who gazes for the first time on the prismatic spectrum, has no other impression, and no other image on his own mind, except that of the vivid and intense beauty of the object itself. We believe, that if any one will attend to or recollect the feelings and thoughts with which he views the pomp and glory of the setting sun, he will find that he is wholly occupied with the visible magnificence before him, the splendor, the contrast, and change of lights and colors. These are examples from the lowest kind of the pleasures of taste, and such, as though innocent and delightful, having nothing intellectual in their character, approach nearest to sensual enjoyments. If we consider the higher pleasures, we shall find our position still more established. Let us take for instance an example of moral sublimity. We will borrow a passage, admirable for this kind of beauty, from the last poem of Mr. Southey; a writer who has few superiors in poetical genius, and none perhaps in the expression of moral feelings. There is so much of wildness and extravagance in this poem, (which is founded on the Hindoo mythology,) its incidents are so far removed from all the situations of man and occurrences of life, that one would think that no human sympathy could be excited for the personages introduced. Yet we believe that this will be felt not to be the case in respect to the following pas-

sage. Kehama, after having expelled the gods of the lower heavens, and possessed himself of their seat; after having subdued earth and hell, standing by the throne of Padalou, which is upheld by three ever living and burning supporters, offers himself as a spouse to the daughter of Ladurlad, the man whom he had blessed with his curse. Relying on the final protection of the higher gods, she refuses the offer.

"She answered; I have said. It must not be  
Almighty as thou art,  
Thou hast put all things underneath thy foot,  
But still the resolute heart  
And virtuous will are free.  
Never, oh! never, . . never . . can there be  
Communion, rajah, between thee and me!

Once more, quoth he, I urge, and once alone.  
Thou seest yon golden throne,  
Where I anon shall set thee by my side;  
Take thou thy seat thereon,  
Kehama's willing bride,  
And I will place the kingdoms of the world  
Beneath thy father's feet,  
Appointing him the king of mortal men:  
Else underneath that throne,  
The fourth supporter, he shall stand and groan;  
Prayers will be vain to move my enemy then,

Again the virgin answered, I have said!  
Ladurlad caught her in his proud embrace,  
While on his neck she hid  
In agony her face."

The mind of the reader, who feels the beauty of this passage, is wholly occupied with the scene which the poet is describing. No subordinate train of images, and no awakened associations at all distract his attention from the principal objects, from the piety and determined resolution of Kailyal, heightened by the contrast of her female tenderness.

Examples, such as have been given, may easily be multiplied, and other considerations may present themselves to the mind of the reader. It is more a state of reverie, as it seems to us, which Mr. Alison has described, than that state of mind,

which necessarily attends the perception of beauty or sublimity.

If then the statement which we have given concerning the pleasures of taste be correct, all mystery is removed from the subject. The account of them is very simple. The objects of nature and art afford us various kinds of pleasure on various principles. But different individuals, from causes, some of which we have endeavoured to explain, are by no means affected by these objects in proportion to their intrinsic value and excellence. The man of taste feels and judges correctly concerning them; and the pleasures which a man of taste receives from the works of nature and art are the pleasures of taste. The expressions are perfectly equivalent.

Mr. Alison's work is divided into two essays. The object of the second, to which we have repeatedly adverted, is to prove, that there is no beauty or sublimity in sounds, or in material objects, considered in themselves; that they owe all their beauty to their expression, to their being the signs of pleasing or interesting moral qualities or emotions, or to their being adapted to produce their recollection. This he has maintained with great clearness and strength of argument, and great felicity and exuberance of illustration. That they owe a great part of their beauty to the cause into which he has resolved the whole, we think that most of his readers will be fully satisfied. But we are not complete converts to his theory in its whole extent. We are inclined to believe that the qualities of matter, considered merely as such, that sounds, and colors, and motions, afford pleasure, and sometimes an high degree of pleasure, without reference to their expression. With regard to colors Mr. Alison says—

"There are many colors which derive expression from some analogy we discover between them and certain affections of the human mind. Soft or strong, mild or bold, gay or gloomy, cheerful or solemn, &c. are terms in all languages applied to colors; terms obviously metaphorical, and the use of which indicates their connexion with particular qualities of mind. In the same manner, different degrees or shades of the same color have similar characters, as strong, or temperate, or gentle, &c. In consequence of



this association, which is in truth so strong that it is to be found among all mankind, such colors derive a character from this resemblance, and produce in our minds some faint degree of the same emotion, which the qualities they express are fitted to produce." p. 167.

There can, as it seems to us, be no sort of analogy, or, in another word, resemblance, between a color considered in itself, and a disposition of the mind; no more, certainly, than between sounds and tastes, or between flavors and motions. But it is conceded that there is a resemblance in the effects of the first mentioned objects. Now if this be not owing to any association, founded on a resemblance of the objects themselves, it follows that colors have an intrinsic power of producing in the mind pleasurable emotions, similar to those which are produced by certain moral qualities and affections; and that they are equally with these therefore possessed of intrinsic beauty. The supposition of analogy or resemblance between any colors and any dispositions of mind seems to us to be wholly owing to the similarity of the pleasurable feelings, which they are both naturally adapted to produce; and the pleasurable feelings which colors afford appear to us in no case to be accounted for, as Mr. Alison supposes, by any real resemblance of these to moral qualities.

Statements similar to that which we have quoted from him concerning colors, Mr. Alison likewise makes concerning sounds, forms, and motions. The qualities of matter, he says, may in several ways be indirectly significant of the qualities of mind. One of these is,

"From analogy or resemblance; from that resemblance which has every where been felt between the qualities of matter and of mind, and by which the former becomes so powerfully expressive to us of the latter. It is thus, that the colors, the sounds, the forms, and above all, perhaps, the motions of inanimate objects, are so universally felt as resembling peculiar qualities or affections of mind, and when thus felt, are so productive of the analogous emotion; that the personification of matter is so strongly marked in every period of the history of human thought; and that the poet, while he gives life and animation to every thing around him, is not displaying his own invention, but only obeying one of the most powerful laws which regulate the imagination of man." pp. 419, 420.

We have no doubt, that the shapes and appearances of inanimate objects may resemble the signs, by which living beings express their passions and emotions, and remind us of these, and of course lead us to personify the objects in which they are found; but we cannot think that colors, sounds, forms, and motions, are ever felt, as resembling peculiar qualities or affections of the mind.

We have a general distrust of those theories, which explain what we have been accustomed to consider our primary pleasures on the principle of association, and decompose them into others of a very different character, or resolve them into some apparently remote principle. In such theories there is a very obvious cause of error and deception. Few pleasures are felt simple and unmixed. Such is the liberality of Providence, that almost every one brings along with it a train of allied and dependent gratifications, some of them perhaps more interesting and agreeable than itself. Now in applying the law of association, as we have mentioned, it is a very easy error to distinguish and produce these or some of these, as the whole cause of our enjoyment, as the constituents, and not the attendants of the pleasure concerning which we are inquiring. Nay, we may even select some one of these attendant pleasures, and resolve the whole emotion, which we experience, into its single effect. Thus the utility of some forms was found to constitute their beauty; with other objects which were beautiful, it was found or fancied that the idea of utility was associated, and in respect to the pleasure, derived from these, of which the idea of utility might perhaps afford a small part, it was considered as affording the whole. Of those qualities, which produce intellectual enjoyment, some must be agreeable in themselves and please us on their own account. They obviously cannot all exist by borrowing from each other the means of giving pleasure; any more than a community of individuals could all live by each borrowing from his neighbour the means of subsistence. If one quality pleases us because it is associated with the idea of another, and this other because it reminds us of a third, we must at last come to some one which pleases us partly at least of itself. But if this last should please us, partly also, as it very probably may, on the principle of association, a theorist may be

very apt to confound it in the same class with the preceding. These remarks will not be felt to have any force by one, who thinks with Hartley, that we have no primary pleasures except those of the senses. Mr. Alison, by a theory much more ennobling to our nature, has referred to an intellectual source all the considerable pleasures which are received through our two principal senses, those of sight and hearing. Each has defended his opinions with much ingenuity, and if we adopt both their theories, we shall then have only some unimportant pleasures of the ear and eye, together with those of feeling, taste, and smell, as materials with which to constitute all those various and strong emotions of delight and agony, which the mind is capable of experiencing.

But whether Mr. Alison be correct or not in his opinion, that the objects of the material world have no beauty in themselves, is a point which very little affects the merit of his work. If they do possess any intrinsic beauty, we have only to add one more cause of the pleasures which they afford, to those which he has enumerated. The other causes he has analyzed with much ingenuity and explained with much clearness. He has with great, if not with complete success, attempted to show that the beauty of material objects consists in their being directly or indirectly expressive of MIND. He has applied his theory in a manner always partially if not entirely satisfactory, to a variety of subjects; among others to music, architecture, the beauty of the human form, and grace of motion and gesture. If there were any part of his work, which we should select as particularly novel, ingenious, and pleasing, it would be the application of his theory to the last mentioned subject.

We have hardly, we fear, by the general tenor of our remarks, given a correct impression of our opinion of the merit of his treatise. It is by far the best work on the subjects of taste and beauty with which we are acquainted. Mr. Alison has exhibited these subjects in a great variety of bearings and relations, and given us many new views and thoughts respecting them. If his reader do not always fully acquiesce in his conclusions, he may, we think, always find himself put into a right train of investigation. There are few works in which so much

ingenuity of discussion and novelty of matter are united with so much clearness and elegance of style, and so much pleasing expression of moral sentiment, and there are few works which have given us a better opinion at once of the heart and of the mind of their author.

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ARTICLE 5.

*Calamities of authors; including some inquiries respecting their moral and literary characters. By J. D'Israeli, Esq. author of "Curiosities of Literature."* New York, James Eastburn. 1812.

THIS is a new work of D'Israeli, which, having just appeared in England, is immediately published here. It gives accounts of the sufferings of authors from various causes—from neglect, poverty, disappointed hopes of reputation, and dispositions of mind unfortunate, ridiculous, or criminal. Some parts of it are sufficiently melancholy, from the view given of the distresses of men of genius and learning; which are rendered more acute by the peculiar sensibility of the sufferers. It is however by no means all of this character—it is full of literary anecdote, lively, brilliant; and abounding in light satire, and amusing observations. It is a work however which will not be very entertaining except to one somewhat versed in literary history; such a one will find much that is new about some of his old acquaintance, and other authors introduced to his knowledge, whose stories are sufficiently remarkable.

Of this latter class is Myles Davies, mentioned in the first volume, as a mendicant author, a very learned man, of great simplicity, and half crazy, who near the beginning of the last century went about making presents of the volumes of his miscellaneous work, entitled *Athenæ Britannicæ*, and soliciting something in return. The poor author's senses were at last quite disordered by want, and indignation at the treatment he received. His volumes have since almost disappeared from the world, though D'Israeli says the earlier part of his work contains much curious literary history. Dr. Farmer had never seen but the first volume. There are seven in the British Museum.

The part which treats of the pains of fastidious vegetation gives a well drawn character of Horace Walpole—of his vanity, of his superficial liveliness, and of his unconcealed chagrin at his disappointments as an author. It is illustrated by extracts from his unpublished letters. Then follow some notices of Dennis, the fierce enemy equally of the dunces and the wits of his time; and some new and striking information concerning Henley, to whom Pope has given such a “bad eminence” in the *Dunciad*.

Our limits forbid us to be so particular as we could wish. Some of the other authors who are mentioned are—Heron, the editor of *Junius*, who, after writing and reading for some years “from twelve to sixteen hours a day,” at last perished in jail;—Anthony Wood, who devoted himself through life to his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, and for whom D’Israeli seems to have a particular regard;—the Rev. W. Cole, nicknamed Cardinal Cole, the friend of Horace Walpole, who left a large chest full of manuscripts, not to be opened till twenty years after his death, which has in consequence but just been explored, and found to contain among other things fifty folio volumes in his own writing, forming an *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, intended as a companion to the work just mentioned;—Gilbert Stuart, whose writings are better known than the assassin-like malignity of his temper, and the low profligacy of his life;—Dr. Kenrick, Prynne, author of the *Histriomastix*; Toland, Leland the antiquary, Collins;—and Simon Ockley, the celebrated Orientalist, as remarkable for his ignorance of the world as for his learning, who says in one of his letters, “I am here in the prison for debt—I enjoy more repose, indeed, here, than I have tasted for many years; but the circumstances of a family oblige me to go out as soon as I can.”

In a part of a note on page 111, vol. 2. there is an interesting fact stated concerning a manuscript work of Locke. It is to be hoped that this work may not much longer remain unpublished. D’Israeli’s account of it is as follows:

“Locke was a Christian, whom all Christians ought to reverence; and had his strength not entirely deserted him before he died, he would have composed a work which might have impressed on our

minds a noble idea of Christianity. I have seen in manuscript a finished treatise by Locke on Religion, addressed to Lady Shaftesbury; Locke gives it as a translation from the French. I regret my account is so imperfect; but the possessor may, perhaps, be induced to give it to the public."

We might have mentioned other names of whom the notices are as interesting as of those whom we have had room to specify. We have little fault to find with the book. We wish however that a silly anecdote which is inserted concerning Steele and Addison had been omitted. Such stories are often circulated without foundation, and their moral effect is mischievous.

The American edition is incorrectly printed, and some passages require all the skill of a conjectural critic to make out their meaning. We cannot now recur however to any which have thus perplexed us except the following—Vol. i. p. 74. "This is the volume copy I have met with," probably one is to read 'the only copy.' Vol. ii. p. 23.—The birth of such a literary hero "has ever been attended with portraits," read 'portents.'

### FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

*(Selected from the latest British publications.)*

[Owing to the present interruption of our intercourse with Great Britain, and to very few late periodical works having been received, we are able to give our readers but a scanty article on this subject.]

**LITERARY** Anecdotes of the eighteenth century, comprising biographical memoirs of William Bowyer, Printer, F.S.A. and many of his learned friends; an incidental view of the progress and advancement of literature in this kingdom, and biographical anecdotes of a considerable number of eminent writers and ingenious artists. By John Nichols, F.S.A. 7 vols. 8vo, 6l. 6s.

A succinct history of the geographical and political revolutions of the empire of Germany, or the principal states which composed the empire of Charlemagne; from his coronation in 814 to its dissolution in 1806. By Charles Butler, Esq. Royal 8vo, 12s.

The fourth volume of a complete system of ancient and modern Geography. By James Playfair, D. D. Principal of

the United College in St. Andrews, and Historiographer to the Prince Regent. 4to, 2l. 2s. boards. The fifth and sixth volumes, which will complete the work, will be published in the course of this winter.

An account of Ireland, statistical and political. By Edward Wakefield. 2 vols. 4to, with a map.

Travels in the interior of Brasil; particularly in the gold and diamond districts of that country, including a voyage to the Rio de la Plata. By John Mawe.

A refutation of M. M. de Montgaillard's display of the situation of Great Britain in 1811. By Sir John Jervis White Jervis, Bart. 8vo, 2s. 6d.

The depreciation of the paper currency of Great Britain proved [a pamphlet]. By the Earl of Lauderdale.

The abridgement of the Transactions of the Royal Society has been completed, in 18 vols. 4to, 38l. 6s.

Archives des Decouvertes et Inventiones nouvelles faits en 1811. 8vo.

Leçons de Mineralogie, données au Collège de France. Par Delamétherie. 2 tom. 8vo.

Traité de l'art de fabriquer le poudre & canon. Par Bottée et Riffault. 1 vol. 4to, with a volume of plates.

Ricardi Porsoni Adversaria.—Notæ et emendationes in Poetas Græcos, quas ex schedis manuscriptis Porsoni apud Collegium SS. Trinitatis Cantabrigiæ adservatis depromserunt et ordinarunt, nec non indicibus instruxerunt, Jacobus Henricus Monk. A. M. Carolus Jacobus Bloomfield, A. M. Cantabrigiæ, sumptibus Collegii SS. Trinitatis. Excudit Joannes Smith, Academiæ Typographus.

The Adversaria of Professor Porson consists of the notes and emendations on the different Greek poets, which he left in manuscript. He was in the habit of noting down his restorations of corrupt passages, and the grounds of his opinion, in the margins of books and in copy-books or on loose papers. After his death, all that he thus left was purchased by Trinity College, Cambridge. Professor Monk and Mr. Bloomfield have been two years occupied in arranging and selecting what was proper for publication; and have now completed a volume containing

what was left by Porson on the Greek poets. This book is said to be beautifully printed at the University press, with Greek types, ordered expressly for that purpose, and cast after models given by the late professor himself.

*Anatomic du Gladiateur Combattant, applicable aux Beaux Arts; ouvrage de format grand en folio, orné de 22 planches.*

The rights of conscience asserted and defended, in reference to the modern interpretation of the Toleration Act. By Thomas Belsham. 8vo, 2s.

The third edition of Mr. Southey's *Madoc* has just been published.

*Charlemagne, Poème heroïque.* Par Millevorge. 18mo.

*La Conversation, Poème.* Par l' Abbé Delille.

*The Calamities of Authors; including some inquiries respecting their moral and literary characters.* By J. D'Israeli, Esq. author of "Curiosities of Literature."

The fifth volume of the republication of Hakluyt's collection of voyages, &c. 4to, 3l. 3s.

*Essai sur la Langue Armenienne.* Par Bellaud. 8vo.

*Essai sur les Merjnes,* Par Giron de Buzareingues.

The works of the Rev. W. Huntingdon, S. S. Minister of the Gospel at Providence Chapel, Gray's Inn-lane, completed to the close of the year 1806. 20 vols. 8vo. 12l.

Proposals have been issued for publishing a new edition of H. Stephens' Greek Thesaurus. It is to be edited by A. J. Valpy, A. M. late fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford, and Mr. E. H. Barker of Trinity College, Cambridge—to be printed at Mr. A. J. Valpy's press, London. The references will be verified, and the work of Scott, as well as the additional words in Stephens' Index will be incorporated: with other improvements to be specified in the Prospectus. It will be published in twenty four numbers at 1l. 1s. each—large paper 2l. 2s. It is to be completed in four or five years. Subscribers' names are to be sent to Mr. A. J. Valpy, Tooke's Court, Chancery lane. They will be printed with the Prospectus. When the subscription closes the price will be materially in-



creased. [The present price of Stephens' Greek Thesaurus we understand is sixty guineas. The intended republication of it seems to have received the most respectable patronage. The names of about six hundred subscribers are given with the advertisement. The work of Scott, mentioned above, is in two folio volumes, not large, and loosely printed. It contains words omitted by Stephens, and additional significations and further examples of the use of some of those, which he has inserted. It was published at London in 1745. Its author, Daniel Scott, was likewise the author of several other works. There are two copies of it in the Library of Harvard College.]

## LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS

FOR OCTOBER, NOVEMBER, AND DECEMBER, 1812.

N. B. All notices of works published, or proposed to be published, which may be forwarded to the publisher of this work, free of expense, shall be inserted in this list.

### NEW WORKS.

**M**EMOIRS of the war in the southern department of the United States. By Henry Lee, Lt. Col. of the partizan legion during the war. 2 vols. 8vo. Philadelphia, Bradford & Inskeep. N. York, Inskeep & Bradford.

Sketches historical and descriptive of Louisiana. By Major Amos Stoddard, Member of the U. S. M. P. S. and of the New York Historical Society.

Travels in the United States of America in the years 1806 and 1807 and 1809, 1810, and 1811. (See Repository, vol. ii. p. 206). By John Mellish. 2 vols. 8vo. Philadelphia.

Medical inquiries and observations upon the diseases of the mind. By Benjamin Rush, M. D. 8vo, \$2:50, bound. Phil. Kimber & Richardson.

The primitives of the Greek tongue; and rules for derivation, from the works of the Messrs. de Port Royal. Boston, W. Wells and T. B. Wait, & Co. \$1, bound.

Perpetual war the policy of Mr. Madison, being a candid examination of his late Message to Congress. By a New England Farmer. Boston, C. Stebbins.

An Essay on slave representation. By Boreas. Awake O spirit of the North. New York.

Speeches in the United States' Congress of the Hon. Mr. Cheeves of South Carolina, and the Hon. Mr. Richardson of Massachusetts, on the subject of the merchants' bonds. Boston, Pilot counting room.

Foreign influence; a discourse delivered before the congregational society in Berkley, Nov. 26, 1812. By Thomas Andros, A. M. Boston, S. T. Armstrong.

The works of R. T. Paine, jun. Esq. with a sketch of his life, character, and writings. 8vo. Boston, J. Belcher.

Hubert and Ellen, with other poems. By L. M. Sargent. Boston, C. Stebbins, 4to, \$2.

The Portrait, a poem, delivered before the Washington Benevolent Society at Newburyport, Oct. 27, 1812. By John Pierpont, Esq. Boston, Bradford & Read.

A selection of English epigrams. Boston, J. Belcher.

The Cynick. By Growler Gruff, Esq. aided by a confederacy of lettered dogs.

A short, simple, and plain method of demonstrating the fifth book of Euclid's elements. Cambridge, Hilliard & Metcalf.

The plain, harmonious sense of scripture the test of opinions. By Thomas Worcester. A pamphlet of 32 pages. This pamphlet is in use, soon with *Bible News*, and gives some new views of the subject, considered able and satisfactory. Boston, Bradford & Read. 12½ cents.

A sermon delivered at the interment of the reverend Thomas Thacher, A. M. A. A. S. late minister of the third parish in Dedham. By the reverend Stephen Palmer, A. M. Boston, J. Belcher.

A sermon preached at the state prison, on Sunday, Nov. 29, 1812, addressed to all the prisoners, and calculated for the use of prisons, with a concluding address to the two condemned pirates, Tully and Dakon. By Charles Lowell. Boston, J. Belcher.

A sermon delivered before the Massachusetts Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, October 21, 1812. By Joseph Dana, D. D. pastor of the south church in Ipswich. Cambridge, Hilliard & Metcalf.

A sermon delivered at Ellsworth, (Me.) at the ordination of the Rev. Peter Nurse. By Samuel Kendal, D. D. Boston.

A short Biblical Catechism, containing questions historical, doctrinal, practical, and experimental. By Hervey Wilbur, A. M.

An act establishing rules and articles for the government of the armies of the United States, with the regulations of the war department relative to the same, and the several laws respecting the army.

Practical instructions for military officers; to which is added a new military dictionary, with plates. By E. Hoyt, brigade major, and inspector in the militia of Massachusetts. 8vo.

American artillerists companion, or, elements of artillery.

Rules and regulations for the field exercise and manoeuvres of the French infantry, issued August, 1791; and the manoeuvres which have been since adopted by the emperor; also the manoeuvres of the field artillery with the infantry. By Col. J. Amelet de la Croix, late chief of brigade in the French service. 3 vols. 8vo. The third consisting of plates,

Regulations for the field exercises, manœuvres, and conduct, of the infantry of the United States, drawn up and adapted to the organization of the militia and regular troops. By Col. Alexander Smith, by order of the secretary of war, with thirty four explanatory plates. 8vo. \$4.

The British system of Education, being a complete epitome of the improvements and inventions practised by Joseph Lancaster. Baltimore, J. Milligan.

The art of writing reduced to its first principles. By Nathan Towne, professor of penmanship in New York.

Proceedings of the late court martial held at Salem at the trial of Maj. Gen. Ebenezer Goodale, of the second division of the militia of this commonwealth. Boston, Cummings & Hilliard.

Trial of Samuel Tully and John Dalton, on an indictment for piracy, before the circuit court of the United States at Boston, Oct. 28, 1812 (from minutes taken at the trial.) 3d edition. Boston, J. Belcher.

The life and confession of Samuel Tully, written by himself, while under sentence of death. Boston, Watson & Bangs.

Original tales never before published, designed as a new-years gift for the year 1813.

#### NEW EDITIONS.

##### American.

Psalms and Hymns, by Jeremy Belknap, D. D. To this edition are added twenty three hymns, by the successor of the reverend author. Boston, Thomas & Andrews.

##### Foreign Works.

A practical treatise on the law of nations, relative to the legal effect of war on the commerce of belligerents and neutrals; and on orders in council and licences. By Joseph Chitty, Esq. To which are added extracts from Grotius, Bynkershoek, and Vattel; also the letter of Sir William Scott, and of the duke of Newcastle, &c. containing matters applicable to the law of prize. price \$2 in boards, \$2:50 sheep. Boston, Bradford & Read.

Bell's Operative Surgery, 2 vols. 8vo. Hartford, Hale and Hosmer.

Elements of Chemical Philosophy. By Sir Humphrey Davy, L.L.D. F.R.S. &c. New York, Inskip & Bradford.

The Theory of agreeable sensations, in which the laws observed by nature in the distribution of pleasures are investigated, and the principles of natural theology and moral philosophy are established; including a dissertation on the harmony of style. 24mo. 62½ cents in boards, 75 cents bound. Boston, Bradford & Read.

Locke on the Human Understanding: with a life and portrait of the author. 2 vols. 8vo. Cambridge, W. Hilliard.

The life of Benvenuto Cellini, a Florentine artist, containing a variety of curious and interesting particulars relative to painting, sculpture, and architecture, and the history of his own time. 2 vols. 8vo.

Calamities of authors: including some inquiries respecting their moral and literary character. 2 vols. 12mo. By J. D'Israeli. New York, James Eastburn.

Evening Entertainments, or delineations of the manners and customs of various nations, designed for youth. By J. Depping. Philadelphia, David Hogan.

The Milesian Chief, a romance. By Dennis Jasper Murphy. 2 vols. 12mo.

Traits of Nature, a novel. By Miss Burney. 2 vols. Bradford & Read.

Married life, or faults on both sides. By Miss Howard.

Thinks-I-to-myself, a novel; 3d American from the 7th London edition. Boston, Bradford & Read.

Says-I-to-myself, a novel. By Thinks-I-to-myself

Self-Indulgence, a tale of the nineteenth century. Boston, Thomas Wells.

Things by their right names, a novel. By a person without a name. Boston, Munroe & Francis, and E. Cotton.

The Spirit of "the Book," a political and amatory romance, from the 3d London edition. Baltimore, E. J. Coale.

Poetical vagaries. By George Colman. Boston, C. Williams.

Æsop's Fables in Greek. Boston, Cummings & Hilliard.

*Works in the press or proposed to be published.*

Whiting & Watson of New York have made arrangements to commence a *stereotype* edition of Doederlein and Meisner's Hebrew Bible. The work will be previously corrected in type, by the Rev. Dr. J. M. Mason, Principal, and the Rev. S. M. Matthews, Professor of Biblical Literature and Ecclesiastical History, in the Theological Seminary of New York; and will be published under the joint patronage of this seminary, and the Theological Seminary at Andover, Massachusetts. The stereotype plates will be cast by Mr. Watts; and from the specimens of his skill in the art, there is said to be the greatest confidence of his success in this undertaking. The type will be large and elegant, and it is calculated that the work will make about 1800 pages, large 8vo. It is said that no pains nor expense will be spared to render this a perfect edition. The price is expected not to exceed \$7 in boards.

The Chronicle, or an annual view of history, politics, and literature; foreign and domestic. By John E. Hall, *late* of Baltimore; assisted by several men of letters. The work will be devoted to the following subjects: 1. An annual history of Europe; 2. a congressional history of the United States, with occasional notices of important proceedings in the state legislatures; 3. Public documents; 4. A register of remarkable occurrences; 5. Biographical sketches of persons distinguished at the bar or in the pulpit, in the closet, or the field; 6. Proceedings of learned societies, at home and abroad; 7. An annual history of literature, foreign and domestic; 8. Essays on miscellaneous topics; and poetical effusions; 9.

Statistical reports. Price \$6 per annum. To be published in four quarterly numbers. Philadelphia, Moses Thomas.

*Views of Louisiana.* By H. M. Brackenridge, Esq. This work is said to be the result of observations made by the author, within the last two years; during which time he had occasion to traverse the most interesting parts of Upper and Lower Louisiana. A considerable part has already appeared, in eleven numbers, under the head of *Sketches of Louisiana*, in the *Louisiana Gazette*, published by Joseph Charles at St. Louis. 8vo. price \$2 in boards. Pittsburg, Cramer, Spear & Eichbaum.

W. Wells and T. B. Wait propose to publish the *Parent's Assistant*, or stories for children. By Miss Edgeworth. Also,

The *Influence of Literature upon Society.* By Madame de Staël. 2 vols. 12mo. Also,

Millard's *Pocket Cyclopædia*.

Bradford & Read propose soon to publish the *Twin Sisters*, or the advantages of Religion." Also the *New Children's Friend*, translated from the German: a small volume for children.

Cummings & Hilliard have in the press *Evenings at Home*; By Mrs. Barbauld. 2 vols. 18mo. Also,

A *Compendium of Geography*, for the use of schools.

#### EDITOR'S NOTE.

THE Editor presents to the public another number of the Repository. He was induced to continue the work, not because at the time this determination was made there was any certainty of adequate support; but in consequence of the encouragement of a number of gentlemen of our metropolis, by whose approbation he feels honored, and for whose exertions he is grateful. He was led to expect, when he began to prepare for the present number, that such additions would be made to the list of subscribers as would, as far as it depended on their number, remove any doubt respecting the continuance of the work, by at least preventing its being to him a source of expense. This however has not been the case. It becomes therefore necessary for him to state, that unless some alteration of circumstances, which he has now no reason to hope, shall take place, the work will cease with the completion of the present volume.

# METEOROLOGY FOR 1842.

THE following table gives, at one view, the greatest heat and cold and the mean temperature of each month; also the extremes and means for each of the seasons, as deduced from observations taken at Cambridge, in the manner and with the instrument before described, vol. ii. p. 208. These results may be used as a continuation of the thermometrical tables, vol. ii. p. 211 and 212.

		7 o'clock			2 o'clock			9 o'clock			7 o'clock			2 o'clock			9 o'clock			Snow dissolved, & Rain.
		A.M.	P.M.	P.M.	A.M.	P.M.	P.M.	A.M.	P.M.	P.M.	A.M.	P.M.	P.M.	A.M.	P.M.	P.M.	A.M.	P.M.	P.M.	
Jan.	Greatest	38	42	40	45	56	53	45	56	53	45	56	53	45	56	53	45	56	53	Each Hand.
	Mean	17	20	19	21	28.6	38	21	28.6	38	21	28.6	38	21	28.6	38	21	28.6	38	
	Least	-7	-2	-9	-7	-2	-9	-7	-2	-9	-7	-2	-9	-7	-2	-9	-7	-2	-9	
Feb.	Greatest	42	44	47																6.22
	Mean	18	30	28																
	Least	-2	3	5																
March.	Greatest	39	52	40																3.92
	Mean	23	37	26																
	Least	-4	21	6																
April.	Greatest	56	76	59	65	83	63	65	83	63	65	83	63	65	83	63	65	83	63	3.58
	Mean	39	53	40	36.3	48.6	37.3	39	53	40	36.3	48.6	37.3	39	53	40	36.3	48.6	37.3	
	Least	23	35	28	-4	21	6	23	35	28	-4	21	6	23	35	28	-4	21	6	
May.	Greatest	65	83	63																5.74
	Mean	47	56	46																
	Least	34	33	32																
June.	Greatest	70	90	76																5.30
	Mean	59	70	58																
	Least	45	55	36																
July.	Greatest	72	88	73	72	90	76	72	88	73	72	90	76	72	88	73	72	88	73	3.76
	Mean	66	80	63	62.6	73.6	61.3	66	80	63	62.6	73.6	61.3	66	80	63	62.6	73.6	61.3	
	Least	52	61	51	45	55	36	52	61	51	45	55	36	52	61	51	45	55	36	
Aug.	Greatest	68	88	72																6.16
	Mean	63	77	63																
	Least	54	61	55																
Sept.	Greatest	68	86	70																1.32
	Mean	50	69	54																
	Least	35	52	40																
Oct.	Greatest	69	81	72	68	86	72	69	81	72	68	86	72	69	81	72	68	86	72	4.28
	Mean	41	58	47	41	58.6	45	41	58	47	41	58.6	45	41	58	47	41	58.6	45	
	Least	25	40	40	17	32	21	25	40	40	17	32	21	25	40	40	17	32	21	
Nov.	Greatest	55	72	59																1.98
	Mean	32	49	34																
	Least	17	33	21																
Dec.	Greatest	37	56	42																2.72
	Mean	22	34	25																
	Least	5	22	5																
For year.	Greatest	72	90	76																Total 49.72
	Mean	40.2	52.8	45.4																
	Least	-7	-2	-9																

Mean temperature for the year 46.2, the average temperature of the last twenty two years being 48.8. Mean quantity of rain 49.06.

THE  
GENERAL REPOSITORY  
FOR APRIL, 1813.

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*Theological Department.*

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NEC TEMERE, NEC TIMIDE.

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A DEFENCE OF THE ESSAY ON THE PHRASE  
"SON OF GOD,"

*Which was published in the Repository, vol. ii. p. 241.*

AS several different positions were taken in the Essay on the phrase Son of God, which appeared in the fourth number of the Repository, we now beg leave to recapitulate some of them.

1. From a view of the nature and diversity of the objects, to which the phrase is applied, we discover that it cannot be understood literally; while from select passages, it seems to be an expression of a state of favor with the divine Being. From the simple application of this title therefore to our Saviour, it may not be inferred that he is "begotten of the substance of God."

2. From a similar but more careful view of the epithets, which are used in conjunction with this phrase, when applied to Christ, such as "only begotten," "own," "beloved," and "first born;" from a diligent comparison of them in the cases of their occurrence, both in the Hebrew and Greek scriptures; and from a collation of texts where they are applied to other persons, we drew the conclusion that they give no authority to the

literal interpretation of "Son of God," when that title is conferred on our Saviour.

The proofs of these positions the author of a letter in the last Repository (which was entitled "A reply to the essay on the phrase Son of God") did not notice.

Having in the Essay thus attempted in general to show that the phrase "Son of God," with its correspondent phrases and attendant epithets, could not in any application be literally understood, we passed (3.) to some particular ideas, which are sometimes included in them.

The principal of these was that "Son of God," when applied ~~not~~ [by distinction] to our Saviour, was synonymous with Messiah. By *synonymous* we did not mean that they were of the same grammatical signification, (as for instance the words *order* and *command* are) but that, in most if not all the cases, where Son of God is applied to Christ, it points him out in his character of the expected Jewish Messiah, and designates not a descent from the divine essence, but a state of divine favor. This point had indeed been contested by Trinitarian divines, who sought in the title an indication of the equal Deity of the Saviour. But as our remarks were not directed against the Trinitarian hypothesis, we thought it unnecessary to enter into this controversy—especially as it was a long one. It was therefore only observed, that Mr. Locke and Dr. Watts have each maintained, and with great force, that "the Son of God" was a designation equivalent to "the Messiah." It was also said, that much might be advanced to show, that the Jews had no expectations of a Messiah, who was "of God's substance:"—and that the ancient Chaldee paraphrases, which were of paramount authority among them, and which are said by many critics, as Masclef and Prideaux, to have been used in the synagogues on the sabbath-day in the time of our Saviour, expressly exclude the idea of proper filiation, in their translation of the passages which may be thought to imply it:—while on every occasion their renderings of scriptures, that speak of human or angelic beings as "Sons of God," are carefully guarded against literal misconceptions. The passage from the second Psalm we placed in a note, and would add a few others to il-



illustrate it.\* In allusion perhaps to this authority of the paraphrasts, the author of the reply says—"that whatever modern Jews may have said, there is in scripture together with other ancient Jewish writings, sufficient evidence to my mind, that the ancient Jews, of best understanding in their scriptures, did believe that the Son of God was to be made of the seed of Abraham according to the flesh." Nothing was said in the Essay to deny that the Son of God, was made of the seed of Abraham according to the flesh. The inquiry was, whether this Son of God of the seed of Abraham, was "of God's substance as begotten of him." With regard to the modern Jews

\* The passage in the second Psalm "thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee," it will be recollected, is that which is quoted in the New Testament, Acts xiii. 33, and Hebrews i. 5; where it is expressly applied to Christ. In the original Psalm, it was probably spoken of David or Solomon. The paraphrase is—"Beloved as a child to a father, thou art pure to me, as if I had this day *created thee*." In 2 Samuel vii. 14, is the promise of God to David, in behalf of Solomon, "I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son." This is also, Heb. i. 5, applied to Christ. The Chaldee paraphrast is careful to render it by a double form of comparison, which removes it, even at the expense of grammatical correctness, beyond the possibility of literal interpretation. "*Et ille erit mihi similis sicut filius*." דְּמִי לְכִנֹּם. In Psalm lxxxii. 6, is the passage quoted by our Saviour John x. 35. "I said ye are gods and all of you children of the Most High." The paraphrase renders it, "I said ye are reputed as angels, as high angels all of you." So in Job i. 6. ll. 1. and xxxviii. 7. "Sons of God" is given by the Chaldee "angels" and "bands of angels." In Daniel iii. 25, we read "Lo I see four men loose, walking in the midst of the fire—and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God." As there is no Chaldee paraphrase of Daniel, we cannot so readily tell what the ancient Jews supposed this fourth to be. The version of Theodotion, however, which we usually have in the Septuagint, renders it "like a son of God;" and Symmachus "like an Angel." Such too is the rendering of the modern Chaldee paraphrase of Daniel, by Jachiades.—In Ikenius' Thesaurus tom. i. pag. 802, is a dissertation of Hilpert's upon this subject, in which may be found some curious extracts from the Rabbinical books. One from שְׁמַעוֹנִית וּתְשׁוּבוֹת (questions and answers) is worth notice for its good sense and present application. "If any one says that he would be improperly called Son of God, who was not produced of the essence of the Deity, answer him—that we cannot speak of God, except by way of similitude, as when we attribute to him eyes, mouth, ears, and the like:—The mode of similitude is this—when the scripture calls any one the Son of God, he is understood, *who does the command of God*."

we know not why they were quoted: for the most orthodox Jewish tracts, if we may trust the confuter of Dr. Allix,\* are forgeries of a comparatively modern age. At least no allusion was made to them in the Essay. Of the ancient Jewish writings, besides the scriptures, which favor this idea of literal generation, we think there are none. The Apocryphal writings have been quoted by Trinitarian divines, but never, that we have seen, in favor of the doctrine in question; and as to Philo Judæus, it is not usual at this day to press him into the Christian cause on any scheme. Excepting these, there are no Jewish writings, of any probable authenticity, which come within two centuries of the paraphrasts, unless, says Nye, it be "the Sepher Jetzira, being a book (you must wot) by the patriarch Abraham!"

Besides these remarks in the Essay on the opinions of the Jews, something was done in the way of comparing of texts, from which it might appear that "the Son of God" and "the Messiah" were equivalent designations. Out of a very great number of illustrations of this kind which were collected, a few only, for the sake of brevity, were offered. The author of the Reply has not corrected the comparison in any of them, nor shown how the conclusion, which they authorise, can be avoided. But he has quoted two texts himself, to which we will attempt a reply. He asks "who can suppose that the Jews would have accused our Lord of the blasphemy of making himself equal with God for saying that God was his father, if they had understood him to mean only that he 'was beloved as a son to a father;' and if those Jews mistook our Lord's meaning, why did he not otherwise explain it, instead of vindicating the saying 'I am the Son of God.'" We think he does otherwise explain it—"Jesus said, many good works have I showed you from my father; for which of those works do ye stone me? The Jews answered him, saying, for a good work we stone thee not, but for blasphemy, and because that thou, being a man, makest thyself God: or a God (as the Greek will bear, and the context seems to require.) Jesus answered them, is it not written, I said ye are gods? (Ps. lxxxii. 6.) if he called them gods unto

\* Stephen Nye. See his "Doctrine of the Trinity."

whom the word of God came—say ye of him, whom the Father hath SANCTIFIED AND SENT INTO THE WORLD, thou blasphemest, because I said I am the Son of God?" Here is an explanation; and it is given, one may say, with the precision of a definition. First we are told what it is which gave the Old Testament worthies a claim to the subordinate title of God: "he called them gods unto whom the word of God came." But most of all—"say ye of him, whom the Father hath *sanctified and sent into the world*, thou blasphemest, because I said I am the Son of God." We read not "whom the Father hath begotten,"—*not* "who is of God's substance as begotten of him:" But whom the father hath *sanctified and sent*. This too not incidentally said, but when our Saviour was expressly arguing with the Jews, and "vindicating" the propriety of calling himself Son of God. If ever he meant to say that he was of God's substance, this surely was the time. His enemies were pressing him with the calumny, that he claimed universal equality with God, and pretended to confirm the charge, by quoting him his own words. And shall we not allow the construction he then gave his words, was that which he meant they should bear? They, he says, are called gods, unto whom the word of God came, and he is called 'Son of God,' who was sanctified and sent into the world. All this is very consistent and intelligible; but if our Saviour had really been "of God's substance, as begotten of him," would he not have reasoned, 'how say ye of him whom the Father generated and begat, thou blasphemest,' &c. This too would have been consistent, if not very intelligible; but to insist, that he meant *this*, and said *the other*, is to put into his mouth not a "vindication" but a sophism. But let us pursue the passage a verse or two farther. "If I do not the works of my Father believe me not, but if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works, that ye may know that I am in the Father and the Father in me." Now what testimony could our Lord's mighty works yield to the question of his literal generation? If miraculous powers are a proof of this generation, then it must be extended to all the angels of the Lord, nay to Moses and all the prophets. These powers were indeed proofs that our Lord was *sanctified and sent*, by God, because,

as was said, 'no man could do them except God were with him.' And if a doubt yet remain there is still another circumstance of confirmation. Three verses forward we read, "and many resorted to him, and said, John did no miracle, but all things that John spake of this man are true." These are the words of Jewish converts—of the body of believers. They occur immediately after the relation of our Lord's "vindication" of his title Son of God: and the question is, whether it be not too much to think, that these Jews had just been hearing our Saviour avow himself a part of the identical essence of the eternal God, and firmly believing this avowal, turned on their heels, with the disparaging words, "all things that John said of *this man* are true."

The other passage adduced by the author of the Reply in this connexion need not detain us so long. He says, "for whatever reasons others may be called Sons of God, they have the title by *gift*, but our Lord has the name by *inheritance*. He is made so much better than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they: for unto which of the angels hath God said, thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee." We would ask whether the author of the Reply has read the text aright? The superiority of Christ over the angels is not placed in the superiority of *inheritance* over *gift*; but in the superior degree of the thing inherited, to wit—the "more excellent name:" for whereas Son of God, in application to angels, means only a being favored as those pure spirits doubtless are; when applied to Christ it means that *most* favored Being, who is the chosen Saviour of the world. It is neither said nor inferred, that angels have that only by *gift*, which Christ has by inheritance, but that the angels have not inherited so excellent an expression of divine favor, as Christ has. For only see how the ellipsis of the sentence must be supplied, according to the commonest rules of grammar. "Being made so much better than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they" have by inheritance obtained. It is therefore incorrect to say—"that for whatever reasons others may be called Sons of God, they have the title by *gift*, but our Lord by inheritance."

It was urged in the Essay, that a Son was a being of the

same nature as the Father:—absolutely and literally of the same nature. This was said to be a general law of creation, and if it ever were violated, in the case of an individual, he would be accounted and called a monster. We expected that all this would be considered a truism, but it is not allowed to be even a truth. The author of the Reply says, "most certainly then it is *not* a necessary law of nature, that every son, or that any son, shall be absolutely equal to his father." The alleged law was not, as the author of the reply quotes it, that 'a Son should be absolutely equal to his father:'—though we think that if that did not hold, the human race, in the long run, would begin to inquire, and wisely, of the times that are past. But the alleged law was, that "the Son should be absolutely a being *of equal nature* with the Father:" of a finite nature, if the father be finite; and by analogy of an infinite nature, if the father be infinite. And as the author of the Reply, upon observing this restatement of the alleged law of nature, may allow it to be one, we would reason a little upon it. God, we are told in scripture, "*giveth* his spirit to Christ—hath *made* him both Lord and Messiah—hath raised him up, with his right hand—hath *exalted* him to be a Prince and a Saviour—hath *given* him to be the head of all things to the church—hath *given* him a name which is above every name—hath *showed* him all things which he doth—hath *given* him to have life in himself—hath *made* him better than the angels—hath anointed him with the oil of gladness *above his fellows*—and *appointed* him heir of all things. All this is by free gift, and not by nature or birth. That, which is given freely, might have been withholden; so that those, who maintain that Christ was literally 'Son of God,' must allow that there was a time when a being, who was a derived portion of the ineffable substance of the Supreme God, was without "the divine spirit," and without "life in himself," when he was neither "Lord nor Messiah, Prince nor Saviour," when he knew not "*what the Father doeth*," when he was but equal, and for ought appears, inferior to the angels, before he was "appointed an heir" universal, and when he was unanointed "with the oil of gladness above his fellows." They must suppose that a personified portion of the divine essence could naturally "do nothing of himself,"

They must suppose that a definite part of the mind of God was the soul which, "grew in wisdom" among the villages of Galilee: and that it was a real emanation from the sovereign Majesty, which was tempted, even to suffering; yea, in all points like as we are; and which, being in agony, was strengthened by an angel sent from Heaven.—There is an Almighty God of tremendous power, and serenely happy beyond the thought of men or of angels; there is a "man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, led like a lamb to the slaughter, and prostrate in heaviness even to death:"—Do we say that this sufferer is *literally* the Son of that God!

But we return to the argument. If 'Messiah' and 'Son of God' be synonymous, it is inquired whether it would not be mere tautology to say—"thou art the Messiah the Son of the living God?" Let us see. It will be granted that "confess" and "deny not" are, in John i. 20, synonymous. Yet they are both used—"And he *confessed* and *denied not*, but *confessed*, I am not the Christ." Every repetition is not tautology, which means needless and feeble repetition:—and, among Jewish writers particularly, repetition is considered as a characteristic idiom of their speech. But if we do call the expression "thou art the Messiah the Son of the living God," a piece of tautology, Mark and Luke seem to have called it so too; for, in his report of this very conversation, where Matthew gives it "thou art the Messiah, the Son of the living God," Luke writes "thou art the *Messiah of God*," and Mark "thou art *the Messiah*." Now it is submitted to any man's judgment, whether, to say the least, it is not more probable that Matthew should insert, by this idiom of repetition, two titles of equivalent import, than that Mark and Luke should, of two different titles, omit that which formed by far the most striking part of Peter's confession. If 'Messiah' and 'Son of God' are equivalent, surely there is nothing strange, at least in a Hebrew writer, in using them both; if they are very different, it is passing strange, that Mark and Luke should conspire to retain the inferior at the expense of the superior.

The author of the Reply, as already quoted, says—"there is in scripture, together with other ancient Jewish writings, sufficient

evidence in my mind, that the ancient Jews, of best understanding in the scriptures, did believe that the Son of God was to be made of the seed of Abraham according to the flesh. And I apprehend that this is the reason why Matthew, Mark, and Luke were so silent respecting the preexistence of the Saviour, of whom they wrote. They narrated things, which proved our Lord the promised Messiah, and those, who understood the scriptures, would of course understand that he was the Lord from heaven." But the gospels of Mark and Luke were not addressed principally, much less exclusively, to Jewish converts; neither did John write immediately upon discovering the deficiency in their histories, and to make up the want of the doctrine of Christ's literal generation. Luke is thought by the ancient Christian fathers,\* who tell all that is known upon the subject, to have written his gospel entirely, or at least expressly, for Gentile converts. And Mark is supposed to have written his for the Italian churches which certainly were Gentile in part. Those then, who formed such a considerable portion of the Christians, to whom the gospels of Luke and Mark were given, so far from well understanding the Jewish scriptures, had probably never read them, if indeed the common sort had even heard of them. From the Jewish scriptures therefore, they could have derived no idea of the literal generation of Christ. But John, it is thought, perceived that some Christians began to deny this, before his death; and resolving that they should no longer plead in excuse the silence of their gospels, wrote his to supply the defect, and correct the error. If this was his design, he seems to have executed it in a manner as inconceivable as the doctrine, which he is supposed to have maintained; for though he meant, according to the author of the Reply, abundantly to assert that Jesus Christ was Son of God by *inheritance*, in distinction from all others, who are so merely by *adoption or gift*; he tells us in his first chapter and twelfth verse, that Christian believers are "Sons of God," and that *not* by adoption, but by *birth*, "which are *born* not of blood, but of God." This however by the way: John wrote his gospel to correct the errors of those, who had omitted, from their Christian creed, the "material article" in question. But Luke

\* See Lardner's history of the apostles and evangelists.

and Mark wrote in the years 63 or 64; and according to the calculation of Mill, which the author of the Reply appears to have followed, St. John's gospel could not have been published till the year 97. This is thirty three years afterwards; and accordingly one whole generation of Gentile converts must have died, without that knowledge of Christ's literal generation, which they could not have gained from the Jewish scriptures, for they did not know them; nor from St. John's gospel, for it was not written. We must therefore suppose that one generation, and that the very primitive one of Gentile Christians, died without a knowledge of a doctrine, which the author of the Reply calls "a material article of faith," and which St. John, according to his interpretation, declares to be necessary for salvation.—This point may admit of further illustration. We might expect perhaps, upon the idea of the author of the Reply, that when preaching or writing to Jews, the apostles would excuse themselves from insisting at length upon that doctrine of Christ's literal generation, which, it is thought, may be found in the Jewish scriptures. If this was really their practice, doubtless we shall see, when they address the heathen, that they make particular mention of this "material article of faith;" and which will need to be distinctly taught to those, who could not previously have derived it from the Old Testament. Especially if they should find, prevailing in any part of the heathen world, philosophical opinions, upon which the notion of Christ's literal generation could be easily engrafted. There is, in the seventeenth chapter of the Acts, a discourse of St. Paul's to the Athenians: This is a people, who are utterly ignorant of the Jewish scriptures, and will therefore need to be distinctly taught this doctrine: and we shall no doubt find this nicety of our faith entrusted without hesitation to an audience of the countrymen of Plato and Aristotle, the most abstract and philosophical reasoners in the world. The mysteries of the ineffable generation might well be concealed from the untutored Ethiopian or the humble jailer; but in the city of Minerva, and before the court of Areopagus;—while standing on that floor where Socrates stood, and looking at that bench where Solon sat—the apostle will consider the refinement and abstruseness of a notion, especially if it be an indispensable



'article of faith,' as rather a recommendation to announce it. What then does he say—"Ye men of Athens—God hath appointed a day, in the which he will judge the world in righteousness, BY THAT MAN, whom he hath ordained." Though Paul knew that he was addressing an audience, which was versed in the subtleties of Plato's Logos, which believed in the tutelary genius of Soerates, and which was fond,\* even to excess, of the doctrine of superior spirits; yet we choose to think that he withheld from them an article of faith, which they would gladly have received as a flight of kindred philosophy, and which is indispensable withal to salvation. This must be said, or in the words of a most learned theologian and deplored friend, "the blessed apostle was unfaithful to his master or forgot his errand."—But the author of the Reply gives a reason why Matthew, Mark, and Luke were so silent about the pre-existence of our Saviour. The thing to be proved was not his pre-existence, but his literal generation. The arguments, which we have just adduced, are built upon the concession that the Jews 'of best understanding in their scriptures' did expect a Messiah, who was to be of God's substance. But need this concession be made? There are cases, in which we may credit the most faithless men; viz. where it is for their present interest to speak truth. We may accordingly trust the Pharisees, (whom we suppose to have been the Jews of best understanding in the scriptures,) when, upon a certain occasion, they are called upon for their opinion of the Messiah. The relation is in Matthew xxii. 41—45. Jesus asks the Pharisees "what think ye of the Messiah, whose Son is he?" They answer unhesitatingly "the son of David." If they had thought that he was literally the "Son of God," why did they not say so; especially as that would have relieved them from the embarrassment, into which they were thrown by the next question of Jesus? "How then doth David, in spirit, call him Lord:—if David call him Lord, how is he his son?" If the 'Jews held the opinion, which the author of the Reply thinks they did, viz. that the Messiah was to be actually the offspring of God, why did they not make the answer, which Christians, who hold that

\* Διαδαιμονιστην.

opinion, would have made for them;—"Though the Messiah, according to the flesh, is the Son of David, on account of his being of God's substance, he is well called by David his Lord." This would have been perfectly coherent; would have relieved them from the embarrassment, into which our Lord's question had thrown them; and furnished them with an answer to it plain, simple, and conclusive. Yet we are told by the evangelist, that "*no man was able to answer him a word.*" Now it is entirely incredible that the Jewish doctors, of all men so crafty, and of all so tenacious of their dignity, should have tamely suffered themselves to be pushed to this nonplus, and acquiesced in the disgrace of not answering a word:—by holding back an explanation, which would have preserved the consistency of their first reply; which there was no reason of real or fancied policy to conceal; and which we might think they would have given, whether they believed it or not; at least that believing it, they would not have witholden it. This we say is an incredible thing; yet they must show it to be a true one, who maintain that the Jews believed their Messiah to be the substantial Son of God.

It is asked by the author of the Reply—"supposing my sentiment to be correct, what stronger language than 'Son of God,' 'his own Son,' 'his only begotten Son,' &c. could have been used to convey such an idea." Paul, we answer, uses far stronger language of Onesimus, even though he was not his Son, and in a case far more liable to misapprehension, because it was the language of man to man. He says—"My Son Onesimus, whom I have begotten in my bonds, who is my own bowels." This text we repeat from the Essay, because the argument which it yields was not answered in the Reply. We have already quoted the passage, which upon this scheme of literal interpretation will prove, that believers in Christ are not only *spiritually* but *bodily* born of God. And we may repeat the request, which was made in the Essay, to find, in all scripture, language as strong in support of the actual divine generation of Christ, as that which here asserts the actual divine generation of his followers. It is not said in all scripture that Christ was "born not of blood but of God."

But it is said that in these cases no material article of faith is involved. On the contrary, what was the very condition of salvation, to men of that age, is expressly involved:—"except a man be *born* of water and *spirit*, he cannot see God." But grant that no article of faith were involved—are we to give one sense to phrases, when they occur in common passages, and a totally different sense when they occur in others, which we may think to contain, or which do contain, "material articles of faith?" The passages of all others, in which the meaning of scripture language is to be ascertained and fixed, are those, where no article of faith is expressed. Having fixed it in these, we may approach with confidence to more momentous texts, and give them the significations, which the analogy of sacred phraseology may require. The very reason why there is more controversy about the meaning of texts of scripture, than of passages in the classics, is, that texts may involve articles of faith; and with articles of faith come prejudice and wresting. Shall we suppose that writers, who mean, not to mislead, but to inform, will use a given phrase in one sense throughout the body of a work, and use it in quite a different one, in some four or five passages, and those too, which of all others they would secure from misconstruction.

Much stress has been laid upon the circumstance that Jesus is declared to be Son of God by the Almighty himself. "Would not the most high God," it is asked, "have used some other words, if the expression had not been literally true." But there is no reason that God, when he condescends to address men, should use those phrases literally, which, between man and man, have a figurative signification. And on the very contrary, we observe that, in unnumbered passages of scripture, that language, which would be literal when applied to men, can only be understood in its application to God as metaphorical to the last degree. We take one instance for a thousand, and from the very commencement of the sacred history. "The most high God" says himself, it *repenteth* me that I have made man; and his inspired servant more boldly declares, that it *grieved* the Lord to the heart. Now it might be asked, "if it were not literally true, would Moses dare to tell us that God repented and

was grieved to the heart; would he sanction this with the seal of inspired scripture, and hand it down to every age at the risk of conveying the most dangerous notions on so important a subject as the character of Jehovah." And yet this, so far from being literally true, can be only understood as a metaphor of the boldest kind. But to reason upon cases yet more in point, we repeat—it is urged in defence of the doctrine of Christ's literal generation, that he was announced to be the Son of God not only by the apostles but by Jesus Christ and by God himself:—and therefore he must literally be of his substance as begotten of him. If this then is a good rule we shall doubtless be able to see its operation in other cases. St. John's 1 Epistle iii. 8—10. "He that committeth sin is of the *devil*—in this the children of God are manifest and the *children of the devil*." Now John, of all the apostles the most amiable and the mildest, writing in the decline of life when his passions were softened by age, in an epistle too, which was to come down to the church universal, as a portion of God's word, would not surely have twice called sinners "the children of the devil," if they had not been 'literally, and in the most proper sense of words' "of his substance as begotten of him." Let however the severity of this notion should make it hard to be credited, let us rise from the servant to his Master, from the apostle to Christ himself. In that discourse (John viii. 12.) in which our Saviour proclaimed himself the light of the world, and in which he professedly bare record of himself, in which therefore we expect the most careful language, he says to those who sought to kill him—"Ye are of your *father*, the *devil*." He declared himself to be, using the words of God (v. #7), and surely we must say that whatever he thus uttered, was *literally* true:—so that the devil was strictly and, 'in the most proper sense of words,' the father of those sinful Jews; as John afterwards, as we have just seen, pronounced him to be the father of sinners in general. But we have yet another testimony, which, though we should explain away those already given, there can be no pretence for not literally believing. To this last witness then we appeal. Acts xiii. 9. "Then Saul, filled with the Holy Ghost, set his eyes on Elymas, and said—"O full of all subtlety

and deceit, thou son of the *devil*." Remember now that it was not Paul "which spake, but the Holy Ghost," and how shall we doubt that this sorcerer, this sinful Elymas, as he was thus solemnly pronounced the son of the devil, was really of the substance of satan as begotten of him.

With respect to the historical argument from the belief of the primitive church, we have no wish to add any thing to the review of the Priestleian controversy. To that Review, as it has appeared in the numbers of the Repository, we must refer those, who would pursue the inquiry into the history of early opinions, to the best advantage and with the clearest guide. The controversy is so complicated, that it may be too much to expect that many will be decided by the Review of it alone to acquiesce in its general result. But that any one, after perusing it, should say, that this and that "was taken for granted," and this and that "must unavoidably be believed," is strange.

We are told—"that according to the best information, which could be obtained by much inquiry, a very great proportion of the most exemplary Christians understand the scriptures to mean that, in a sense peculiar to himself, and in the most proper sense of the words, our Lord is the Son of God." This argument, we think, is not a good one. What advantage does the mere exemplariness of a Christian give him, in a question of metaphysics, criticism, or definition? But we apprehend also that the fact is mistaken. We cannot indeed profess to have made personal inquiry into the opinions of a very great proportion of exemplary Christians, for that would be to inquire the sentiment of every Christian country in every age. But from the few whom we have asked—"do you believe that Christ is of God's substance?" we have received, without exception, an answer in the negative. We did not propose the question to those, who did not understand or could not receive the explanation of the terms, nor did it seem worth while to ask them barely whether they believed that Jesus was truly the Son of God. Every Christian believes it, and it is but unprofitable occupation to dwell upon the proposition, as if it were denied or doubted. But though it is neither denied nor doubted, that Jesus is the Son of God, it is both doubted and denied, that the Nicene

faith is the faith of the scriptures, and that Christ is "of God's substance as begotten of him." This is the question;—and the state of the controversy is not unlike that of some other religious controversies. An attempt is made to identify a curious notion in metaphysics with some plain expressions of scripture.

In this controversy we think that the advocates of the literal generation of Christ attempt to avail themselves of two opposite and incompatible conditions. They first insist that the construction given to terms "must have an analogy in nature, or the language of human beings," that "Christ is Son of God in the most strict and proper sense of the terms," and that it is a rule of interpretation "that terms, used in Revelation, must be understood in a sense corresponding with some analogy known to men." Well then—what is clearer in the language of human beings, than that the Son must be a being of the same nature as his Father: that he must have his father's natural capacities, not (for the sake of argument we will grant) in the same degree, but certainly in some degree? And since, in the case of an infinite being, there are no degrees, it is as clearly required by the analogy, that the son of an infinite being should be infinite, as that the Son of a finite being should be finite. Since then there is no part of infinity, no part of omnipotence, (because to portion that which is unbounded is contradiction in terms), if Christ be Son of God in the literal sense of words, then he must be infinite and omnipotent. The son of man must be man, and the Son of God must be God; else language is used, which has no analogical authority. But this conclusion, with respect to the nature of Christ, being far different from that, which the advocates of his literal generation would draw, they assume another principle totally at variance, it would seem, with their fundamental one. They now say that "however the son may be equal to the father in every *other case* of proper sonship—it is obvious that if Christ be the Son of the living God, his sonship must be in some respects *PECULIAR to himself.*" Thus to prove against one part of the Trinitarian scheme, that Christ, as Son of God, is a separate being from his Father, they insist on the

literal meaning and proper sense of the word *son*; which implies a being distinct from his father. But when, on our part, we urged that this *literal* sonship would indeed make Christ a being distinct from his Father, but yet a being of equally infinite nature, which would be the Trinitarian hypothesis in its most repulsive statement, we were answered by being told of "peculiar senses" and an exception "from other cases." But it can be insisted that Christ is Son of God, either in the *literal* meaning of the word *son*, or in some *peculiar* sense; he cannot be in both the one and the other, as the argument is respectively addressed to the Trinitarians and to Us. If he be so in the peculiar, then the argument from analogy cannot be claimed:—for to explain a peculiar sense by the analogy of the literal is solving the exception by the rule. If Christ be Son of God in the literal sense of Son, then is he not as much God as his Father, even as Isaac is as much man as Abraham?

Again, Christ is said to be Son of God "in the most proper sense of words." *Proper* is an ambiguous epithet. It may mean either that Christ is Son of God in the literal and etymological sense of the words, or in their common acceptance in scripture. If then it be said that Christ is Son of God in the former, in the very literal sense of the words, we must ascribe to him all that is included in the literal signification of Son, and without pleading an exception from 'other cases,' or a sense 'in some respects peculiar,' must allow that as the son of a finite nature is finite, the son of an infinite nature is infinite, that Christ is an infinite being, and that this infinite being suffered on the cross. Or if the other course be taken, and it be said that Christ is Son of God, in the common acceptance of that phrase in scripture, we think it may be proved, from Genesis to Revelation, that there is not to be found among all the other instances of their application the shadow of a case where these words imply generation from God's substance.

To conclude—we were not aware that the Essay could be charged with want of 'caution or diffidence,' or with 'animating controversy by philosophical speculations.' If the paragraph or two, at its conclusion, of metaphysical reasoning threw an air of mere speculation over the whole, we regret that, in the zeal of dis-

cussion, that reasoning was indulged. From the epistolary form of the Reply, from the personal style it assumes, and especially from the peculiar sentiment it maintains, we may not affect an ignorance of the name with which it might be subscribed. For that name we cherish a great respect, and to the works which it has sanctioned have paid no little attention. Of their theological value and truly Christian temper we have the highest sense, and rejoice to hear of their rapid circulation and powerful influence. In submitting some differences of opinion from them in the Essay, we did not do it as wishing to be wise "above that which is written," but as supported by the authority of many more than half a hundred texts of scripture.

### AN ACCOUNT OF THE CONTROVERSY

BETWEEN DR. PRIESTLEY, DR. HORSLEY, THE MONTHLY REVIEWER,  
AND OTHERS.

*Concluded from page 42.*

HAVING in the preceding portions of this account gone through with the most important topics of the controversy, I shall in the concluding part, which follows, first state what relates to some topics of minor importance; next notice, as far as I am acquainted with them, all the errors, that have not been previously mentioned, either of quotation, or of translation, or of incorrect statement of facts, which Dr. Priestley has been charged with having committed in works relating to the present controversy, either in his *History of the Corruptions*, in his *Tracts and Defences*, or in his *History of Early Opinions*; and then add a few miscellaneous articles and remarks.

The first topic of controversy which I shall notice relates to the question—*who were and who were not considered as heretics in the earlier ages of the church?* In no part of the controversy did Dr. Priestley suffer himself to be more led away by his opponents, so as to lose sight of the proper object of discussion; and in no part did he fall into more mistakes and errors, than in that which relates to the present subject. He had none of the arts and little even of the honest skill of a con-



troversialist; but, ardent in his cause, and confident in his strength, he met his opponents on whatever ground they were disposed to choose for the encounter.

The present controversy had its origin in the following passage of the Charge of Dr. Horsley, which, as it respects what I have distinguished in the printing, is somewhat singularly expressed:—"Episcopus, though himself no Socinian, **VERY INDISCREETLY** concurred with the Socinians of his time, in maintaining, that the opinion of the mere humanity of Christ had prevailed very generally in the first ages; and was never, deemed heretical by the fathers of the orthodox persuasion; at least not in such degree, as to exclude from the communion of the church."\* This opinion Dr. Horsley attributes to the charitable temper of Episcopus, who was desirous of recommending general toleration by the example of the ancient Christians. On this account, Dr. Horsley continues, "he gave easy credit to unitarian writers, when they represented the differences of opinion in the early churches, as much greater than ever really obtained; and the tenderness for sectaries, as more than was ever practised; and, while he opposed their doctrine, he vouched their story."\* The opinion however of Episcopus, he says, was false and groundless, and has been unanswerably refuted by Bishop Bull.

In answer to this part of Dr. Horsley's charge, Dr. Priestley has a letter expressly to prove, "that the primitive unitarians were not considered as heretics." But this proposition, stated in such general terms, follows at once, if the general conclusion of Dr. Priestley from the whole controversy be supported, viz.—that the great body of primitive Christians were unitarians. In this latter proposition the former is of course comprehended. If it can be proved that the doctrine of the trinity was a corruption which commenced in the second century, and that before this time the primitive unitarians constituted the body of the church, and for some time after the majority of its members, it is wholly unnecessary to prove that the primitive unitarians were not considered heretics. Every thing, which Dr. Priestley establishes in proof of his main point, goes to

\* Charge 1. § 1.

support this included proposition, and thus generally stated, it does not properly admit any separate proof. By advancing this proposition in the manner he has done, Dr. Priestley laid himself open to the following remarks of his opponent:—"It should seem," says Dr. Horsley, "that you have some secret mistrust in your own heart of the proof which you pretend to bring, that the unitarian doctrine was orthodoxy in the first age; or you would have been less solicitous to shew, that the primitive unitarians were not deemed heretics. For a proof that confessed orthodoxy was not deemed heresy, or in other words, that the orthodox did never excommunicate themselves, might have been spared. This however is the subject of your third letter."\*

In his Second Letters, Dr. Priestley continues the subject, and in support of his proposition produces some of those passages from Origen, which have before been noticed; in which Origen affirms the ignorance of the great body of Christians concerning the sublime and mysterious doctrine of the Logos. These passages in his History of Early Opinions he refers to their proper head, as direct evidence that the Gentile Christians were even in the time of Origen generally unitarians.

In his History of Early Opinions Dr. Priestley has resumed the subject of heresy, and directed his arguments to the proof of a proposition less objectionable in form than that which he had before stated. It is that in the first ages the Gnostics were the only heretics. He has in this work shown that they were those, who were chiefly viewed as heretics, and who, almost alone, engaged attention as such. But in doing this he unnecessarily and unsuccessfully continued, what he had before undertaken, the defence of the Ebionites from the imputation of heresy. It was shown by Dr. Horsley, after the publication of his work, that the Ebionites were considered heretics by Irenæus at the close of the second century. They were thus considered however partly, if not wholly, for other reasons than their belief respecting the person of Christ. According to Jerom they were *anathematized*, or excommunicated, merely on account of their rigid adherence to the Mosaic law. That they

\* Letters to Dr. Priestley, Let. 10.

were not esteemed heretics was a point very unimportant for Dr. Priestley to maintain.

The part of the controversy, which we are considering, may properly be regarded as relating merely to the accounts given by the early Christian writers of heretics and heresy; and to their accounts of the articles of belief necessary to communion with the church. The main question is—whether, from an examination of these accounts merely, laying out of view all other evidence, it might or might not be inferred that Gentile unitarians, those to whom nothing could be objected but the belief of our Saviour's simple humanity, were, during the first centuries, cut off from the body of the church as heretics? These accounts are given by writers, who maintained the doctrine of Christ's divinity, and who were disposed to speak of the unitarians as unfavorable as possible. But it is not after their opinion of the unitarian belief, it is not whether they considered it erroneous and heretical, for undoubtedly they did so, that we are inquiring. It is with regard to the fact, whether unitarians were excluded from the church. And in proof or denial of this having been the case, no other evidence properly belongs to the part of the controversy we are considering than what is derived from the two sources I have mentioned. The direct evidence that the unitarians constituted at first the whole, then the majority, and afterward a great part of the body of Christians, as far as this evidence was matter of controversy, I have before stated. But if merely from the consideration of the early accounts of heresy and heretics, and of the articles of belief necessary to communion, it can be shewn that the Gentile unitarians were, during the first centuries, not heretics, in the sense above-mentioned, that is, were not separated from the church, this will greatly strengthen Dr. Priestley's main argument. As there is no controversy that they were afterward heretics, the different state of things, during the first centuries, will coincide with and confirm Dr. Priestley's supposition of the doctrine of the trinity being an innovation, which gradually acquired strength. It will seem to follow that the trinitarian party, which had its origin among the more learned converts, the philosophers and the writers, and which finally prevailed and

established itself as orthodox, was not at first equal in power or numbers to what it afterward became. The difference in its mode of treating its opponents is just what we should expect if we admit the truth of Dr. Priestley's supposition. But if on the other hand it could be shewn from the accounts of which I have spoken, that Gentile unitarians were very early heretics, this would of course cast doubt on the whole of the evidence, which Dr. Priestley has adduced to shew that they were originally the body of the church; and if the evidence of their having been heretics, in the sense above-mentioned, were very decisive, and this fact could be traced back to the time of the apostles, it would be decisive of the whole controversy. The proof of the latter supposition however was not attempted by Dr. Priestley's opponents, who, for the most part, contended that the unitarian belief was not held by any among the Gentile Christians before the time of Theodotus, and that as he was the first among them, who, it is pretended, was excommunicated on account of this belief [about A. D. 190], so likewise that he was the first among them by whom it was maintained. They contend that before his time there were no other unitarians except the Ebionites and the Cerinthians, who were both of Jewish origin.

I now proceed to the account of the controversy.

In his History of the Corruptions, Dr. Priestley argues that the unitarian doctrine was no heresy, but the plain, simple truth of the gospel, from what he considers the fact, that the apostle John, though he severely censures the opinions of the Gnostics, passes no censure upon that doctrine, though it is universally agreed that there were unitarians in his time, even if they did not constitute the body of the church. Of the Docetæ, a sect of the Gnostics, who believed that Christ was a man only in appearance, and that his body was a mere phantasm, he speaks in the severest manner; and in the passage where he mentions them, asserts as Dr. Priestley interprets it, the proper unitarian belief in opposition to their opinions:—"Every spirit," says St. John, "*which confesses that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh,* (by which," says Dr. Priestley, "he must have meant, in opposition to the Gnostics, *is truly a man*) *is of God.* On the other

hand, he says, *every spirit, which confesses not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God, and this is that spirit of Antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come, and even now already is it in the world.*"\*

Dr. Horsley on the contrary says, that it is necessary first to prove St. John an unitarian, before that sense can be put upon his expression of *coming in the flesh*, which Dr. Priestley has done; that no "believer in our Lord's divinity and incarnation could employ the phrase without an allusion, in his own mind, to both those articles as branches of the true faith;" and that "such an allusion implies a censure of the unitarians;" that Dr. Priestley therefore reasons in a circle, bringing a passage in proof of a pretended fact, that St. John believed the simple humanity of our Saviour, which fact must itself support the interpretation. The proposition, he further says, that Christ "was truly a man, if he was nothing more than man, is very awkwardly expressed by the phrase of his 'coming in the flesh:' for in what other way was it possible for a mere man to come? The turn of the expression seems to lead to the notion of a Being, who had his choice of different ways of coming."†—"You say," says he to Dr. Priestley, "that this phrase of coming in the flesh 'refers naturally to the doctrine of the Gnostics.' I say the very same thing. But I say, that in the sense in which the church has understood it, this phrase refers to two divisions of the Gnostics; the Docetæ, and the Cerinthians; affirming a doctrine, which is the mean between their opposite errors. The Docetæ affirmed, that Jesus was not a man in reality, but in appearance only: the Cerinthians, that he was a mere man, under the tutelage of the Christ, a superangelic being, which was not so united to the man as to make one person. St. John says, 'Jesus Christ is come in the flesh;' that is, as the words have been generally understood, Jesus was a man, not in appearance only, as the Docetæ taught, but in reality; not a mere man, as the Cerinthians taught, under the care of a superangelic guardian, but Christ himself come in the flesh; the Word of God incarnate."‡

\* History of Corruptions, P. 1. sect. 1.

† Charge 1. § 5.

‡ Lett. to Dr. P. Let. 4.

Dr. Priestley in his Second Letters produced from the Epistle of Polycarp a passage referring to the Gnostics, in which the same phrase used by St. John, *not confessing that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh* is used, evidently, as Dr. Priestley thinks, concerning those only (the Docetæ), who believed that Christ was not truly a man. Dr. Horsley notices this passage in the first of his Supplemental Disquisitions, and maintains that it is neutral and wholly insignificant to decide the matter in dispute; for that the phrase just quoted may, when used by Polycarp as it does when used by St. John, refer to the Incarnation. He on the contrary produces, what he considers a very decisive passage of Barnabas, in which the phrase is used, and in which he thinks it must be understood with reference to a prior condition of our Lord, before his appearance as a man. To this Disquisition, Dr. Priestley replied in his Fourth Letters to Dr. Horsley; and he contends that the general and obvious sense of the passage in Barnabas is complete, without supposing any such reference as Dr. Horsley thinks necessary.

According to the true reading of St. John, as given by Griesbach, the passage from him, which gave occasion to the present controversy, is as follows:—*Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God; and every spirit that confesseth not Jesus is not of God.* In the passage either thus read, or as it stands in our common translation, there is no sort of evidence that St. John disapproved the unitarian doctrine. An unitarian would thus have expressed himself, with reference to the opinions of the Docetæ:—It is well known that the Jews characterized the Messiah by the phrase, ‘he that is to come.’ “When therefore,” says Dr. Priestley, “the Messiah *was come*, and a question arose concerning his *nature*, whether he had *real flesh*, or not, it was certainly not unnatural for a Jew, who believed that Christ, or *he that was to come*, was a *real man*, and had *real flesh*, to express his opinion by saying, that *Christ was come in the flesh*.”\* But there is likewise as little evidence from this passage that St. John was not a believer in the divinity of his Master, for there is nothing inconsistent in his language with this belief.

\* Fourth Let. to Dr. H. Let. 8.

In either case the Docetæ are censured; in the latter case the unitarians are perhaps censured, but indirectly and by implication. But if St. John believed that his Master was God, and there were, in his time, those who believed that he was only as man, we should expect to find in his writings some other notice of their opinions than an indirect and implied censure.

But I have not stated the whole, which relates to the passage of St. John, under consideration. Dr. Priestley, in quoting the third verse, instead of the words which, according to our common translation, are repeated in that verse, 'Jesus Christ is come in the flesh,' had written, 'Jesus Christ is come of the flesh.' On this error Dr. Horsley has a great deal to observe. "It would have been but fair," he says, for Dr. Priestley "to advertise his readers of so capital an emendation. An emendation," he observes, "for which no support is to be found in the Greek text, nor even in the varieties of any MSS."\* He then proceeds to enlarge on the subject of the variations of the MSS. for the purpose of shewing that they afford no shadow of support to this emendation of Dr. Priestley.

Dr. Priestley in reply expresses his regret that his negligence, or that of his printer, should have given Dr. Horsley all this trouble in examining the readings of MSS; he declares that he had no knowledge of having made a change in a single word in copying the text; and that he should have had no wish to make any change, thinking the passage quite as much to his purpose as it now stands, as with the alteration, which Dr. Horsley supposed, or implied that he had intentionally made. — Dr. Horsley however thought the charge of intentional corruption of the common version of the Bible not one to be lightly relinquished; especially as the fact, that the alteration was of no service to his opponent, and the perfect facility of detection if it had been, were only circumstances, which showed more forcibly the habitual depravity of mind, which could venture upon such an artifice. He accordingly, in his Remarks upon Dr. Priestley's Second Letters, recurs to the subject, and

\* Charge 1. § 3.

speaks of his opponent as having made "an attempt upon a passage in St. John's first Epistle, which will never be forgotten." It is to be observed that the second verse of St. John, in which the phrase first occurs, and is commented upon by Dr. Priestley, was quoted by him correctly. I should feel myself wasting, without excuse, my own time and that of my readers, if the specimen I have given did not shew, in a very striking manner, what modes of attack have been resorted to against Dr. Priestley's character.

With regard to what may be found, relating to the subject of heresy, in the spurious and interpolated writings attributed to the apostolic Fathers; it is only necessary to observe, that in those, which bear the names of Polycarp and Ignatius, mention is made of heretics; but evidently, according to Dr. Priestley, with reference to the Gnostics merely, and not at all to unitarians. There was no controversy of any importance on this point.

We proceed to Justin Martyr. There are two passages in his writings, in which heretics are mentioned. One of them without controversy refers solely to the Gnostics, with no reference to unitarians. The other is as follows:—"There are and have been, many persons, who, pretending to be Christians, have taught to say and do atheistical and blasphemous things, and they are denominated by us from the names of the persons whose doctrines they hold, (*for some of them blaspheme the Maker of the universe, and him who was by him foretold to come as the Christ, and the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in one way, and others in another,*) with whom we have no communion, knowing them to be atheistical, wicked, and impious persons, who, *instead of reverencing Jesus*, confess him in name only. They call themselves Christians, in the same manner as those among the heathens inscribe the name of God on the work of their own hands, and defile themselves with wicked and atheistical rites. Some of them are called Marcionites, some Valentimians, some Basilidians, some Saturnianians, and others go by other names, each from their peculiar tenets; in the same manner as those who addict themselves to philosophy, are denominated from the founders of their respective sects. And, as I have said, Jesus, knowing what would come to pass



after his death, foretold that there would be such men among his followers.\*

This passage also, Dr. Priestley contends, has no reference to unitarians. The sentiments described are those of the Gnostics, the sects enumerated are sects of the Gnostics, and the language used, concerning the persons spoken of, is very different from that in which Justin Martyr speaks of unitarians, and very similar to that in which he, in the other passage before mentioned, and that in which the ancient Fathers in general, spake of the Gnostics.

The Monthly Reviewer [Mr. Badcock] however, supported by Dr. Horsley, translates the passage differently from Dr. Priestley, and supposes it to have a different application. Instead of the passage in Dr. Priestley's translation, which I have marked with *italic* letters, he gives the following:—"Some therefore in one way, and others in another, teach their own peculiar method of blaspheming the Maker of all things, and CHRIST, who was to come from him as foretold in prophecy; and who WAS THE GOD OF ABRAHAM, AND ISAAC, AND JACOB."†—Dr. Priestley in his translation has the expression, *instead of reverencing Jesus*. This is the rendering of *οὐκ ἐκτιμῶν Ἰησοῦν*. These words Mr. Badcock translates, *instead of worshipping Jesus*.

The passage being thus translated, Mr. Badcock contends, that its censures extend beyond the Gnostics, and are directly levelled against unitarians, that is, according to him, against the Ebionites. "Persons," he says, "of both descriptions—blasphemers of the God of the world, and blasphemers of Christ, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were equally included in the censure, and ranked in the same catalogue of heretics."

"How are you certain," he asks Dr. Priestley, "that Justin,

\* Dial. cum Tryph. p. 308. Hist. of Earl. Opp. B. 1. c. 4. sec. 3.

† Letter to Dr. Priestley, occasioned by his late pamphlet, addressed to the Rev. Mr. S. Badcock, [written by Mr. Badcock,] p. 8.—Mr. Badcock, in the Monthly Review, vol. lxx. p. 61, had before translated the passage thus:—"Others upon another plan [*ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλοι τρόποι*] teach their followers to blaspheme," &c. On this Dr. Priestley remarked that *ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλοι τρόποι* did not mean "others upon another plan," but, "some in one way and some in another;" which being the true rendering, the Reviewer has adopted it in his last translation.

thought *only* of the Gnostics in his censure on the heretics of his day. Doth not he expressly declare, that there were *also other* heretics who were distinguished by *other* names, besides those more popular ones, which he had just mentioned? Now will you take upon you to assert, that the Ebionites were not included among the *ἄλλαι ἑτεροί*, especially when it is considered, that their tenets were as opposite to his, as the tenets of the Gnostics—perhaps *more* opposite, in some of their leading and characteristic dogmas.”——“The censure which he passes on the heretics included the Ebionites as well as the Gnostics:—it included *all*, who, *in one sort or another*, blasphemed ‘the Christ, who was foretold as he that should come from God, and who was the God of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob.’ Thus Christ was blasphemed in *various* ways by *opposite parties*; and particularly by the Ebionites, who positively denied either that he was the God of the patriarchs, or even the representative of him under the Old Testament. Now, I ask you, *how* Christ could be blasphemed under the characters expressly attributed to him, but by the denial or degradation of those characters?”\*

I do not find that Dr. Priestley noticed the pamphlet, from which I have made these extracts. In reply to Dr. Horsley, whose comments on the passage resembled those of Mr. Badcock, he observes, in addition to what I have before stated, the fact that “Justin mentions his having no objection to hold communion with those Jewish Christians, who observed the law of Moses, provided they did not impose it upon others. Dial. p. 23. Now,” he asks, “who could those be, but Jewish unitarians? for, agreeable to the evidence of all antiquity, all the Jewish Christians were such.”†

With regard to the remarks of Mr. Badcock it may be said, that Justin in this passage so far from speaking of Christ, and the God of Abraham, &c. as the same, expressly distinguishes them; and in such a manner as to render the translation of the reviewer wholly unjustifiable. It is such as would have been made by no one acquainted with the idiom of the

\* Mr. Badcock's Letter, pp. 12, 13.

† Second Letters to Dr. Horsley, Let. 6.

Greek language in the use of the article. The original is as follows:—*ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι ἔχουσιν ἀνασφαιῖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ καὶ τὸν θεόν ὡς θεοθετοῦσιν ἀνθρώπου Ἰησοῦ, καὶ τὸν θεόν Ἀβραάμ, καὶ Ἰωάνη, καὶ τὰς τὰς ἀθανάτων.* The article being repeated before *θεόν*, it cannot be inferred that Christ and the God of Abraham are the same;\* and all which the reviewer observes concerning the blasphemy of Christ consisting, according to Justin, in the denial of his divinity and preexistence, has no sort of foundation in the passage before us. From this passage however, though it affords no proof that Justin did consider Christ and the God of Abraham the same, yet it might not be safe *certainly* to infer he did not. That this however was the case, and that he considered the title of God of Abraham to belong to the Supreme God, the Maker of all things, and not to Christ, who was sent by Him, is shown by Whitby in his work formerly referred to, *Disquisitiones Modestæ*.

Mr. Badcock and Dr. Horsley contend that *προσκύβειν* means *instead of worshipping Jesus*—"instead of paying him divine worship," says Dr. Horsley, "for that is the proper force of the verb *προσκύβειν*." Mr. Badcock, not content with saying the same in his letter addressed to Dr. Priestley, makes a postscript, for the sole purpose of commenting again upon this word. "How came Dr. Priestley," he asks, "to translate *προσκύβειν* 'reverencing Jesus?' Was there no design in this equivocal word, *reverence*? The 'worship' of Christ was originally intended by the term *προσκύβειν*, and the reducing it to the level of simple *reverence*, or *respect*, was a most flagrant perversion of the original meaning. This single example, well considered, might serve instead of a thousand to shew the *fidelity* of the HISTORIAN of the CORRUPTIONS."

In answer to this passage, I will take the trouble to produce the following examples of the use of *προσκύβειν* and *εὐσεβεῖν*, with which I am furnished by Stephanus:—*Τὰ θεῖα προσκύβειν*, Aristoph. to reverence divine things. *Ἀγαθὰ προσκύβειν*, Soph. to reverence the sons of Atreus. *Εὐσεβεῖν τὸν δαίμονα*, Plat. to reverence justice. *Εὐσεβεῖν ὡς πατέρα*, Xenoph. they revered Cyrus as they did his father. Other examples to the same purpose are produced by

\* See Middleton on the Greek article, c. iii. sect. 4. § 2.—p. 79. seqq.

Stephanus, but those which I have quoted are sufficient to shew the frequent use of the word. I will add however the following passage from Justin himself, in which we must either adopt a very forced and unnatural construction, or allow that the word in question is applied to angels:—*Ἀλλ' αὖτις τι [ἰδοι], καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ ὄντων ἰδόντων καὶ διδασκόντων ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, καὶ τῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἐκμετασώ και ἐφρανομένων ἀγγέλων ἀγγέλων ἑαυτοῖς, πνεῦμα τι το φροφeticὸν ἐκδομῆ καὶ ἡρεκτικῶν,\* that is, "we reverence and honor God, and his Son who is with him, and who came and taught us these things, and the band of OTHER good angels, who follow and are like him, and the prophetic Spirit." I have no doubt myself that this is the true, as it is the natural rendering of the passage, though others have been proposed.† But without insisting upon this example, the word in question, we have seen, is applied to other objects than those of religious worship; and Justin, in using this "equivocal" expression, has furnished no ground for the remarks of Mr. Badcock. The force of the reviewer's attack is in no proportion to its violence. With regard to Justin's own opinion of the kind of inferior worship, which was to be paid to Christ, the reader may consult Whitby's *Dissertationes Modestæ*—de Justin. Mart. p. 26. seqq.*

It was in his Letters in reply to Dr. Horsley's Charge, that Dr. Priestley first produced the passage of Justin we have been considering. The account which he then gave of it, in connexion with the other passage, in which Justin speaks of heretics, is as follows:—"There are two passages in this writer, in which he speaks of *heretics*, with great indignation, as 'not Christians, but as persons whose tenets were absurd, impious, and blasphemous, with whom Christians held no communion;' but in both the passages he evidently had a view to the *Gnostics only*, denominated from the names of their teachers. He particularly mentions the 'Marcionites, the Valentinians, the Basilideans, and the Saturnianians.' He says 'they blasphemed the Maker of the world, and the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,' that 'they denied the resurrection, and maintained that

\* Apolog. prim. p. 11. Edit. Thrillb. p. 56. Edit. Paris.

† See Thirlby's note on the passage.

after death the soul went immediately to heaven.' 'Do not,' says he, 'suppose these to be Christians.'"<sup>\*</sup>

To this account, the Monthly Reviewer and Dr. Horsley objected, as grossly and scandalously defective. "In the above representation of Justin's sentiments," says the reviewer, "we meet with the most flagrant and unaccountable mutilation of a plain passage, that the disingenuity of a controvertist, who is determined 'to keep it up,' *per fas et nefas*, ever presented us with."<sup>†</sup> The omissions, objected to by him and Dr. Horsley, are the omitting to notice, that the blasphemy of Christ in his character of God of Abraham, and the not worshipping Christ, are mentioned by Justin, as some of the characteristics of the heretics of whom he is speaking. There was very much more to the same purpose as what I have quoted from the reviewer, written by him and Dr. Horsley. But the reader will, I trust, be satisfied with this plain statement of the case, which will enable him to judge for himself of Dr. Priestley's offence.

I unfortunately have not at hand the pamphlet in which Dr. Priestley noticed the reviewer's first attack upon him respecting this subject; but it seems, from the answers of the reviewer and Dr. Horsley, that Dr. Priestley had said, that he considered the omissions, which he had made, as wholly unimportant and not affecting the argument in any way; and that he *might have made them merely to shorten a long Greek quotation.*<sup>‡</sup> The whole of the Greek however was in fact given by Dr. Priestley in the margin; and this circumstance having been pointed out to him by a friend, before the publication of his pamphlet, he notices it in his appendix. The carelessness of his answer afforded additional ground of triumph to his opponents, though this very carelessness is the most convincing proof that could have been given, that the omissions in question were not designedly made to answer a purpose.

<sup>\*</sup> First Letters to Dr. Horsley, Let. 3.

<sup>†</sup> Monthly Review, vol. lxx. p. 61.

<sup>‡</sup> "You first inform us," says Mr. Badcock, "that you *might have* shortened the passage for the sake of saving yourself the trouble of transcribing a long quotation in Greek." Dr. Horsley, to cause an appearance of greater inconsistency, says—"Your apology is, that the omissions were made to shorten a long Greek quotation."

The truth appears to be, that Dr. Priestley had originally no suspicion, that the passage could be understood in any other way, than as applying solely to the Gnostics; and to have made use of it as he would of any other, concerning whose meaning he supposed there would be no controversy, selecting those parts, in his first brief account of it, which were most to his purpose, and which would most strikingly show its application.

The next writer to be noticed is Irenæus. I have before observed that Dr. Priestley committed various errors in this part of the controversy. He attempted to prove that Irenæus did not consider the Ebionites as heretics, and in this he was shown by Dr. Horsley to be mistaken. The work of Irenæus concerning heresy relates principally without question to the Gnostics. "All his works are lost," says Cave, "except five books against Heresies, entitled anciently *Περὶ ἑρесьων καὶ ἀποστόλων τῶν ἑνὸς ἁγίου πνεύματος*. The confutation and subversion of knowledge falsely so called, i. e. of Gnosticism: those abstruse and mystical heretics pretending that all sublime and excellent knowledge dwelt with them."\* What concerns the Ebionites is, says Dr. Priestley, but little more than one page out of four hundred; and most of the general descriptions of heretics, in the introduction and in other places evidently refer to the Gnostics only. In proof of the fact that Irenæus commonly thought only of the Gnostics, when he spoke of heretics in general, Dr. Priestley has produced various passages and arguments in his *History of Early Opinions*, B. i. ch. iv. sect. 4, to which I must refer the reader. But he has erroneously asserted, that "Irenæus nowhere directly calls the Ebionites heretics." This subject was treated by Dr. Horsley in his third Supplemental Disquisition, in which he produces all the passages of Irenæus, in which the Ebionites are named, or in which it may be supposed that they are referred to. These passages are six; four of them had previously been noticed, and commented upon by Dr. Priestley in the section just mentioned. One of the remaining is the account, which Irenæus gives of the Ebionites, Lib. i. c. 26; which, as it is connected with the accounts of heretical sects, seems to shew that he considered them as such. The other

\* Cave's Lives of the Primitive Fathers. Life of Irenæus.

passage is one, Lib. iii. c. 11. which Dr. Priestley confesses he had overlooked, in which the Ebionites are clearly called heretics, and spoken of in connexion with Marcion, the Valentinians, and other heretics.\*

We pass on to the accounts, which Dr. Priestley has given of what Tertullian says of the Ebionites, and of his testimony to their being or not being heretics. "There is something," says

\* Dr. Horsley concludes with the following paragraph:—"Of the truth of that remark of Dr. Priestley's, which provoked this long disquisition, that the Ebionites in Irenæus' large work 'are again and again characterized by him in such a manner as makes it evident he did not consider them as heretics, and that he never calls them by that name,' of the truth of this remark, and of the qualifications of the man who could make it, and take credit to himself that he had been the first to make it, to enlighten the age upon points of ecclesiastical antiquity, let the intelligent reader now form his own judgment." The remark of Dr. Priestley, on which Dr. Horsley comments, the latter has misrepresented, perhaps unintentionally, to the injury of his opponent. It is thus stated in the *History of Early Opinions*, [Vol. i. p. 274.] which was published before Dr. Horsley's *Disquisition*—"Irenæus, who wrote a very large work on the subject of heresy, forty or fifty years after the time of Justin, and in a country where, it is probable, there were fewer unitarians than where Justin lived, again and again characterizes ~~heretics~~ in such a manner, as makes it evident that even *he* did not consider any other class of men as properly entitled to that appellation besides the Gnostics." The remark, as it originally stood in Dr. Priestley's Second Letters, [Let. 6.] is as follows. "Irenæus, who has written so large a work on the subject of heresy, after the time of Justin, and in a country where it is probable there were fewer unitarians, again and again characterizes them in such a manner, as makes it evident, that even *he* did not consider any other persons as being properly heretics besides the Gnostics." Undoubtedly, according to the grammatical construction of this last sentence, Irenæus is said frequently to characterize the unitarians, in such a manner, as to shew that he did not consider them heretics. But that this was not the meaning of Dr. Priestley, but only a meaning arising from the careless construction of the sentence, would have appeared, even if he had made no subsequent correction (a correction which Dr. Horsley ought to have attended to) from the connexion of the passage as it originally stood; from the fact that Irenæus does not frequently characterize unitarians in any way; and from the inconsistency of the assertion as thus understood with what Dr. Priestley affirms in his First and Second Letters, viz. that Irenæus says very little of the Ebionites, and nothing of the Gentile unitarians. I confess I can hardly bring myself to believe that Dr. Horsley really misunderstood his opponent.

he, "very particular in the conduct of Tertullian with respect to the Ebionites. He speaks of the heresy of Ebion (of which he makes but the slightest mention in his Treatise against heresy in general) as consisting in the observance of the Jewish ceremonies; and yet he says, that 'John in his epistle calls those chiefly antichrists, who denied that Christ came in the flesh, and who did not think that Jesus was the Son of God;' meaning, probably, a disbelief of the miraculous conception. 'The former,' he says, 'Marcion held, the latter Ebion.'"<sup>\*</sup>

It appears from this statement, that Tertullian gives testimony that the Ebionites were heretics, and Dr. Priestley allows that they were so called by him. With regard to his making in one passage their heresy consist in the observance of Jewish ceremonies, Jamieson observes, that it is the design of Tertullian, in the work in which this is found, to show the opposition of the apostolical doctrine to the opinions of heretics, that he is speaking in the passage in question respecting the epistle to the Galatians, in which the observance of Jewish ceremonies is condemned, and that when speaking of the false doctrines, condemned by this epistle, he could not, with propriety, mention any other error of Ebion than his insisting on the necessity of the Jewish law. Jamieson produces two other passages from Tertullian, in one of which Ebion is said to have been the successor of Cerinthus;<sup>†</sup> and in the other is mentioned with Marcion, the Valentinians, &c. as a person whose tenets are refuted by the scriptures.<sup>‡</sup> He also refers to still two other passages, in which Tertullian speaks of Ebion, but he does not give them at length.<sup>§</sup>

In respect to the evidence from Tertullian, that Gentile unitarians were cut off from communion with the church, it is said, that he declares that the "unity of God, irrationally explained, makes heresy"<sup>||</sup>—that he affirms, "that the devil maintains one lord, the Almighty Creator of the world, that even of this one he may make *heresy*;"<sup>¶</sup>—that he calls the Monarchians,

<sup>\*</sup> Hist. Earl. Opp. B. iii. c. 10.

<sup>†</sup> De Præscrip. c. 48.

<sup>‡</sup> De Carne Christ. c. 24.

<sup>§</sup> Ib. c. 14. c. 18. They had been previously referred to by Mr. Badcock, in his letter, but not quoted.

<sup>||</sup> Adv. Prax. sect. 3.

<sup>¶</sup> Ib. sect. 1.



or the followers of Praxeas, heretics;\*—that after giving a creed, which expressed the orthodoxy of his day concerning the trinity, he says, that “it admits of no disputations except those which heresies introduce, and which make men heretics.”† All this must of course be explained, in consistence with what Tertullian elsewhere acknowledges, viz.—that the unlearned, the majority of Christians, were shocked at the doctrine of the trinity. Nor is there any difficulty in thus explaining it. It would from the passages themselves be more probable than otherwise, that he did not use the words heresy and heretics respecting unitarians in their strict sense, as denoting excommunication from the church; but only in their more lax signification, and as expressive of his own opinion of their doctrines and their character.

The next writer to whom we come is Clemens Alexandrinus, the contemporary of Tertullian. It has not, I believe, been denied that Clemens, though he makes frequent mention of heretics, no where speaks of the Gentile unitarians as such—nor of the Ebionites, unless he once intend them by the name, Peratici.‡

\* Adv. Prax. sect. 10.

† De Præscrip. c. 14.

‡ Dr. Priestley in the postscript of his First Letters to Dr. Horsley thus wrote:—“Clemens Alexandrinus makes frequent mention of *heresies*. *Almost the whole* of his seventh book of Stromata relates to that subject. He mentions fourteen different heresies by name, and ten heresies by character; but none of them bear any relation to the Ebionites, or any species of unitarians, all of them respecting Gnostics only.” The expression, *almost the whole*, Dr. Priestley corrected in his *errata*, so as to say instead of it, *a great part*. On the above passage, Dr. Horsley thus remarked in his Tenth Letter to Dr. Priestley—“I find, Sir, by the best computation I can form upon a single example, which I am sensible must be liable to great inaccuracies, I speak therefore under the correction of your authoritative decision—but by the best computation I can form, the *whole* may be any part of a thing not less than a forty-eighth. I beg your pardon—I had written this, when turning back to the *errata*, at the beginning of your book, I there find, that you have been yourself very properly shocked at the extravagant hyperbolism of your own expressions; and for the words *almost the whole*, you advise the reader to substitute these, *a great part*. Sir, a reluctant and imperfect retraction is more unseemly than the first error, be it ever so enormous” The seventh book of the Stromata, Dr. Horsley says, in Sylburgius’ edition, fills 48 pages, Greek and Latin. The

Clement Alexandrinus flourished in the close of the second and beginning of the third century. That at this time unitarians were not excluded by the baptismal creed is a point of importance. I do not find that it has been denied by any of Dr. Priestley's opponents, and I presume it is not to be denied, that "there was no creed used in the Christian church, besides that which was commonly called *the apostles* [the same essentially, which now goes by that name.] before the council of Nice, and even after, that there was no other generally used at baptism."\*

general subject of the book is the excellence of Christian knowledge in preference to philosophy. This fills more than 38 pages of the 48 without any mention of heretics. "A general invective against heresies and a dissuasive of heresy, drawn from general topics, and not from the enormities of particular sects, fills eight pages more." Then follows the list particularly noticed by Dr. Priestley, which fills perhaps three-fourths of one of the two remaining pages of the book; "for the last page is taken up with a whimsical explanation of the Levitical marks of clean and unclean beasts; which are supposed to be types of the good and bad qualities of true Christians and of heretics. Thus it appears," says Dr. Horsley, "that the great part of the seventh book of the *Stromata*, which you had well nigh mistaken for the whole, is somewhat less than one part in forty-eight.—But the Ebionites," he continues, "have no place in that long list of heretics, which occupies almost the whole, or, to speak more accurately, a great part, or, to speak exactly, almost a forty-eighth part of the seventh book of the *Stromata*. I think indeed they have not, unless they be included, which I suspect may be the case, among the Peratic heretics."

Dr. Horsley certainly had some ground for this attack, and his opponent may appear to have merited some rebuke. But in the exultation of being witty, he seems not to have observed, that his facts and his railery are not in perfect agreement. A great part, according to Dr. Priestley, of the seventh book of the *Stromata* relates to the subject of heresies. It is only one part in forty-eight, says Dr. Horsley. It seems however that a general invective against heretics (an invective, by the way, from which Dr. Priestley has quoted some things to his purpose) fills eight pages, and that the two remaining pages relate to the subject of heresies. Now, though ten pages may not be a great part of forty-eight, yet I am not certain that they do not approach nearer to this, than to the proportion Dr. Horsley has stated. Somewhat more than one part in five, it seems he should have said, and not somewhat less than one part in forty-eight. The joke however Dr. Horsley thought too good a one not to be repeated, and in his 'Remarks' he tells us again, what he had formerly concluded to be "the proportion of the Priestleian to the vulgar whole."

\* Hist. Earl. Opp. B. iii. c. 13. sect. 1,

The Monthly Reviewer brought forward a creed, before referred to, which Tertullian gives in his work *De Prescriptione*, in which it is said—"We believe that Christ was the Word by whom God made the worlds; and who at various times appeared to the patriarchs and prophets." I do not find however that he maintained that this creed, or any one similar, was in the time of Tertullian used publicly in the church. It is given by Dr. Priestley with two other forms from Tertullian, and two from Irenæus, in his *History of Early Opinions*, B. i. c. 5.

About the year 190—Theodotus is said to have been excommunicated by Victor Bishop of Rome (the same who excommunicated all the Eastern churches, because they did not observe Easter at the same time with the Western) on account of his maintaining that Christ was simply a man. The story is told by a writer quoted by Eusebius. Dr. Priestley has a section\* on this subject in his *History of Early Opinions*, to which I must refer the reader; only observing, that I have little doubt that he mistakes in saying—"that it is not Caius, the writer quoted by Eusebius, who says that he was excommunicated on account of his being an unitarian, but Eusebius himself." Dr. Priestley thinks that there is some room to doubt, whether Theodotus was excommunicated *on account of his unitarian belief*.

"We find," says Dr. Priestley, "that all the [Gentile] unitarians continued in communion with the catholic church till the time of Theodotus, about the year 200, when it is possible that, upon his excommunication, some of his more zealous followers might form themselves into separate societies. But we have no certain account of any separate societies of unitarians till the excommunication of Paulus Samosatensis, about the year 250, when, after him, they were called *Paulians*, or *Paulianists*. Others also, about the same time, or rather after that time, formed separate societies in Africa, on the excommunication of Sabellius, being, after him, called *Sabellians*."†

Dr. Priestley likewise says—"that none of the laity were excommunicated with Noetus [an unitarian] about A. D. 220."‡ This assertion is erroneous, and he has corrected himself in a

\* Hist. of Earl. Opp. B. iii. c. 15. sect. 2.

† Ib. B. iii. c. 13. sect. 1.

‡ Ib. B. iii. c. 15. sect. 3.

later work, his *History of the Christian Church*. He there says—"Noetus, persisting in his opinions, was expelled from the church, of which he was a member, *together with those who were of the same opinion with him.*"

Cyprian, who died about A. D. 258, in a passage of an epistle to Jubaeianus on the baptism of the heretics, quoted by Jamieson,\* speaks of Patripassians (that is, of unitarians,) as heretics, and in such a manner that there is no question of their separation from the church; not indeed of the separation of the whole body of unitarians, but of those, who were more zealous and openly maintained and defended their opinions.

We come now to the times, when professed unitarians, of the class just mentioned, were, as is agreed on all sides, considered as heretics. In reviewing then the controversy, which we have just been examining, there are two questions to be considered. The first is—whether the Ebionites were heretics, i. e. out of the communion of the church? The second is—whether it appears that Gentile unitarians were heretics in the same sense during the two first centuries? To the first question it must be answered, in opposition to Dr. Priestley, that the Ebionites were heretics in the time of Irenæus; and how much earlier it cannot be determined. I have said in opposition to Dr. Priestley; but, as it seems to me, he has by no means written with his usual clearness upon this subject. In the following passage, he allows that they were not in communion with the church. "It is probable therefore," is his conclusion of some remarks upon this subject, "that the Nazarenes, or Ebionites, were considered as in a state of excommunication, merely because they would have imposed the law of Moses upon the Gentiles, and refused to hold communion with any, besides those who were circumcised; so that, in fact, they excommunicated themselves."†

It is agreed that the Ebionites were not in communion with the church; and it must be conceded, I think, without doubt, that they were properly heretics. It is contended by the opponents of Dr. Priestley, that they were separated from

\* Jamieson, B. vi. c. 1. sect. 1.

† Hist. of Earl. Opp. B. iii. c. 10.

the church on account of their opinions concerning the person of Christ. But whatever might have been their opinions on this subject, there was a cause, which would necessarily have separated them from the church, and have made them heretics—their attachment to the Mosaic law. That, if this cause had been removed, their opinions concerning Christ would have excluded them from communion with the church, during the first ages, must therefore be proved by other evidence, than the mere fact of their being heretics.

With regard to the second question—whether it appear that unitarians, simply as such, were, during the two first centuries, cut off from the body of the church as heretics? It must be answered, that there is no pretence of any evidence that they were before the excommunication of Theodotus, about A. D. 190. Mosheim observes, that it does not appear that Praxeas, who flourished at the same time, and who openly maintained the unitarian doctrine, formed any separate societies.\* That he had many followers there is no question. So clear is it, that prior to Theodotus no Gentile unitarians were heretics, that, as I have before mentioned, Dr. Priestley's opponents have generally maintained that he was the first, at least among the Gentiles, who taught the doctrine of the simple humanity of Christ. About A. D. 220, Noetus and some of his followers were excommunicated as unitarians, and no long time after unitarians were spoken of by Cyprian as heretics. After the time of Origen, that is, after about the middle of the third century, there is no controversy that they were so considered.†

It does not follow however, that after this period there might not be many in the church, who did not embrace the

\* *Coetum tamen peculiarem homo hic non condidisse videtur.* Sæc. ii. pars 2. cap. 5. These few words his diffuse translator has spread out into the following:—"However ready many may have been to embrace this erroneous doctrine, it does not appear, that this sect formed to themselves a separate place of worship, or removed themselves from the ordinary assemblies of Christians." The word *may*, being omitted in this passage as quoted in the *Hist. of Earl. Opp.* [vol. iii. p. 258.] Jamieson comments upon it as if the English had really been written by Mosheim. [Vol. ii. p. 398.]

† *Hist. of Earl. Opp.* B. I. c. 4. sect. 6.

doctrine of the preexistence and divinity of Christ. These doctrines, according to Dr. Priestley, were considered as sublime and mysterious, and above the comprehension of the generality. These therefore were suffered to rest in peace in their old opinions; and it was only those few men of learning and talents, who directly opposed the prevailing corruptions, and such as openly professed themselves their followers, who were cut-off, or who separated themselves from the church, after the trinitarian party had prevailed among the body of clergy, among the teachers, the writers, the converts from Gentile philosophy.

#### *Of Hegesippus.*

CONNECTED with the preceding subject respecting heresy and heretics, is that part of the controversy, which related to Hegesippus. Hegesippus was a Jewish Christian, who wrote, about the year 170, an history of the church from the passion of our Lord to his own time. This history is now lost, except some fragments preserved by Eusebius. One of these fragments contains an enumeration of the heresies, which existed in his time, in which the Ebionites are not mentioned.\* But the Ebionites did exist in the time of Hegesippus; and as he has not mentioned them as heretics, it is inferred that he did not consider them as such.—In reply to this it is said, that only some very scanty and imperfect fragments of his history are preserved, which, all brought together, would fill perhaps two pages and an half in a folio of moderate size;—that from them it is impossible to make out any thing like a list of the heretics of his age;—that we have no right to conclude from no mention of the Ebionites being found in these parts of his history, that they were not mentioned, or not mentioned as heretics, in his whole work;—that in the passage in question, the Cerinthians, undoubtedly heretics are omitted, and that their omission is as remarkable as that of the Ebionites. To these arguments Dr. Priestley replied in his *History of Early Opinions*, B. iii. c. 12, to which, for the sake of necessary brevity, I must refer the reader.

But Dr. Priestley maintains, not only that it may be infer-

\* See *Hist. of Earl. Opp.* B. i. c. 4. sect. 2.

red from Hegesippus, that the Ebionites were not heretics; but that it also may be shewn that he himself was an Ebionite, or in other words, a Jewish Christian, who believed the simple humanity of Christ, for the word *Ebionite* is, as we have formerly seen, used with considerable laxness of signification. This, if it could be established, would be a very important fact, for Hegesippus says, that in his journey to Rome, in which he visited many bishops, he found the same doctrine every where held, which was taught in the law by the prophets and by our Lord.<sup>\*</sup> But Hegesippus, in affirming that the church held the true faith, must of course have meant, that his own faith and that of the church were the same. If therefore it can be shewn that he himself was a believer in the simple humanity of Christ, it follows, that we have his testimony, that, in his time, this was the general belief of the body of Christians. For the arguments in proof of Hegesippus being an unitarian, which are not a little forcible, I must again refer to the chapter of Dr. Priestley before mentioned, and only notice the objections by which they have been opposed.

Justin Martyr, it is said, his predecessor, and Irenæus, his contemporary, who both held the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, speak in the same terms with Hegesippus of the unity of faith, which prevailed in the church. The catholic church, says the Monthly Reviewer, "Irenæus informs us in a strain of pious exultation, 'though dispersed over the face of the whole earth, having received the true faith, preserved it carefully and uniformly; so uniformly as if it dwelt in one house, and possessed but one heart and one soul.'"<sup>†</sup>

"The reasons," he adds, "which lead us to conclude that Hegesippus was no Ebionite, are these:—He informs us that he visited the churches, and found the bishops, whom he met at Rome, of one mind and of the same principles. Now what those principles were, Irenæus has informed us. The testimony of Hegesippus is the testimony of a friend, who admired their unity of faith—that faith which had been defended many years before by Justin Martyr, both in his celebrated *Apology* addressed to the emperor Antoninus Pius, and still more ex-

\* Euseb. Hist. Lib. iv. c. 23.

† Monthly Review, vol. lxi. p. 296.

plicitly avowed and maintained in his dialogue with Trypho.—Again, Eusebius speaks of Hegesippus in the same terms of respect as he doth of the other and most orthodox Fathers of the primitive church;\* he calls him one of the *believing Hebrews*, and speaks of his five books concerning the preaching of the apostles, as containing a clear and authentic account of the subjects of which he treated. We again ask, if Eusebius would have borne such a testimony as this, to the character and writings of Hegesippus, if he had been an Ebionite;†—a member of a sect *possessed* (as Eusebius says) *by a malignant demon*‡

It is one argument in favor of Hegesippus being an unitarian, that a writer, from whom Eusebius has given several extracts, in expressly quoting ancient authorities against the unitarians, has omitted to cite Hegesippus. To this it is replied, that he has in like manner omitted to cite either Athenagoras or Theophilus, who were both, as well as Hegesippus, contemporary with Irenæus.

These objections are most of them either directly or indirectly answered by Dr. Priestley.

It is to be noticed that Dr. Priestley more than once, in speaking of Hegesippus, mentions him through inadvertence, as an earlier writer than Justin Martyr. His biographical chart and his chronological table of writers are correct. According

\* The passages, to which the Reviewer must refer and which Jamieson quotes, are the following:—Eusebius [Lib. iv. c. 8.] calls the work of Hegesippus, “a faithful relation of the Apostolic preaching”—*την απλανη παραδοσιν της Αποστολικης κηρυγματος*.—He says, [Lib. iv. c. 22.] that “he has left us a very full mention of what he himself thought”—*της ιδιης γνωμης πληροτατην μενηται*—and then quotes from him his testimony, given above, to the prevalence of the right faith, and his account of heresies;—and he speaks of him [Lib. iv. c. 22.] in connexion with eight other contemporary writers, among whom is Irenæus, as having transmitted in their orthodox writings the sound faith, conformable to what was delivered by the Apostles—*ον και ως ημεις της Αποστολικης παραδοσης η της υγης πισως συγγραφως καταλθεν ορθοδοξια*.

† “Eusebius was not accustomed to conceal the errors of those whose writings he quotes—even of the orthodox themselves. He frankly acknowledged the mistakes of Papias and Irenæus, to say nothing of Tatian and others.” Rev.

‡ Monthly Review, vol. lxi. pp. 226, 227.

§ Dr. Priestley erroneously says, “Eusebius himself;” and Jamieson follows him in this mistake.



to the latter Justin died A. D. 163, and Hegesippus flourished A. D. 170. Dr. Priestley's error had before been committed by Eusebius and Jerom.\*

WE come now to two subjects, which are but slightly connected with the main controversy. The first is an explanation of the doctrine of the Trinity, which was given by Dr. Horsley, in commenting upon a passage of Athenagoras formerly mentioned.† It is as follows:—"The sense" of this passage, he says, "is, that the personal subsistence of a divine Logos is implied in the very idea of a God. And the argument rests on a principle which was common to all the Platonic fathers, and seems to be founded in scripture, that the existence of the Son flows necessarily from the Divine Intellect exerted on itself; from the Father's contemplation of his own perfections. But as the Father ever was, his perfections have ever been, and his intellect hath been ever active. But perfections, which have ever been, the ever-active Intellect must ever have contemplated; and the contemplation which hath ever been, must ever have been accompanied with its just effect, the personal existence of the Son."‡

This hypothesis of Dr. Horsley was noticed by Dr. Priestley in his First and Second Letters, who challenged his opponent to produce any authority for it, ancient or modern. This was done by Dr. Horsley in his fourth Supplemental Disquisition; who showed, not indeed that his notion was common to all the Platonic Fathers, but that it was not peculiar to himself, and that a similar hypothesis had been held by others before him. Dr. Priestley noticed this Disquisition in the eighth of his Fourth Letters.

THE other subject just referred to, Dr. Horsley introduced in his Remarks on Dr. Priestley's Second Letters; in which, as I have before observed, he seemed willing to escape from the further discussion of the points properly in controversy. In these Remarks he undertook, among other things, to prove—

\* Vide Euseb. Hist. Lib. iv. c. 8. et not. Valesii ad loc.

† See page 26 of this volume of the Repository.

‡ Charge iv. § 3.

"The decline of Calvinism, amounting to almost a total extinction of it among the English Dissenters." This was done to show the falsity of a principle, which Dr. Priestley had advanced, viz.—"That great changes of opinion are not usually made of a sudden and never by great bodies of men." I suppose that there is now no dispute, that Dr. Horsley was wholly mistaken with regard to the fact, which he endeavoured to establish. Another thing about which Dr. Horsley occupied himself in these Remarks, was to repel a slander, that he had spoken with contempt of the doctrines of Calvin. And the sixth chapter treats of the spirit of Dr. Priestley's controversial writings. These subjects occupy 25 pages out of 79, which is the whole number of pages in the Remarks.

WITH regard to the arguments from reason, against the doctrine of the Trinity, which were urged in different Letters by Dr. Priestley, and the replies of Dr. Horsley contained in the Fifteenth of his Letters, I omit all particular account of them, as it was originally my intention to confine myself to a statement of the arguments from history.

#### ERRORS OF DR. PRIESTLEY.

THE following passage is from the first edition of the History of the Corruptions, p. 19.

"With such apparent unfairness does Eusebius treat these unitarians, as to say, that Theodotus, who appeared about the year 190, and who was condemned by Victor, the successor of Zephyrinus, was the first who held that our Saviour was a mere man; when in refuting their pretensions to antiquity, he goes no farther back than to Irenæus and Justin Martyr."

There are three mistakes, says the Monthly Reviewer in this short passage. 1. Victor was not the successor of Zephyrinus; on the contrary Zephyrinus succeeded him. 2. The charge of unfairness, if it be true, is not to be applied to Eusebius, but to a more ancient writer from whom he is giving an extract; and 3. This ancient writer does not stop at Irenæus and Justin Martyr; but he says in the next sentence—"Yea, moreover, the psalms and hymns, which from the beginning (~~was~~)

were written by the faithful brethren, *scholastic* Christ, the Word of God, as God." The Reviewer adds, that beside Irenæus and Justin Martyr, the writer in question mentions Miltiades, Melito, Clemens, and Tatian.\*

Dr. Priestley says in his Reply to the Monthly Review, that he is of opinion, though he may be mistaken, that Eusebius speaks in his own person in what he has quoted. And that at least he adopts and makes himself answerable for the language of the ancient author whom he quotes:—"I acknowledge, however," he says, "that I should not have stopt at Justin Martyr, but have proceeded to mention the other authorities, quoted either by Eusebius, or his author: They are, however, of no sort of weight in the decision of the question, and all of them that are extant I had considered in the course of my work."†

With respect to the mistake of making Victor the successor of Zephyrinus, Dr. Priestley says—"I remember that the passage stood right when it was first printed, but was altered, I cannot recollect how, or why, in the proof sheet. Men of much business, and of a very little candor, will easily excuse a slip of this kind."‡

The passage in question Dr. Priestley corrected in subsequent editions of his History of the Corruptions, so as to say instead of "Eusebius"—"Eusebius, or a more ancient writer whom he quotes," and instead of the "successor," to say the "predecessor" of Zephyrinus. There is, I think, little doubt, as I have before mentioned [p. 274, note], that Eusebius is not speaking in his own person. There are no other alterations. Dr. Priestley has left that part of the sentence remaining, in which it is said, that no higher authority is quoted than Justin Martyr. Of the authors mentioned by name Justin is the oldest; and with regard to the ancient hymns in question, he might not perhaps think it necessary to go into an explanation concerning them in any subsequent edition of his smaller work, the History of the Corruptions; when he had already done it in his large work, the History of Early Opinions;§ especially as a great

\* Monthly Review, vol. lxxviii. p. 224. Vid. Euseb. Lib. v. c. 28.

† Reply to the Monthly Review, sect. 4.

‡ Ib. sect. 7.

§ B. iii. c. 15. sect. 1.

part of the evidence for the statements in the former work is to be found in the latter. He has on this account perhaps let the sentence remain, conveying his own opinion without its evidence.

THE following is a passage from the Monthly Review of the History of the Corruptions—"Speaking of the *Shepherd of Hermas*, Dr. Priestley says, very decisively, '*this work is not quoted by Irenæus.*' Now this work is not only quoted by Irenæus, but the manner in which that ancient Father hath quoted it, hath occasioned much speculation among the ecclesiastical writers. That an *historian* of the 'Corruptions of Christianity' should have overlooked this, is somewhat extraordinary! We could enumerate twenty authors, who have mentioned, with particular minuteness, the very singular respect which Irenæus paid to the *Shepherd of Hermas*."<sup>\*</sup>

To this Dr. Priestley says—"I cannot now account for my saying that Hermas is not quoted by Irenæus, when it was a thing I could not but have observed, or read of." Dr. Priestley however thinks it doubtful, from various circumstances which he mentions, whether Hermas be in fact quoted by Irenæus, though it has been so supposed. "I do not however," he says, "insist upon this, and shall correct the passage."<sup>†</sup> It has accordingly been omitted.

THE following is from Dr. Priestley's History of the Corruptions, sect. 2—p. 35, first edition.

"As new opinions do not lay firm hold on the mind, forms of expression adapted to preceding opinions, will now and then occur, and as good sense will, in all cases, often get the better of imagination, we sometimes find these early writers [the early Fathers] drop the personification of the *Logos*, and speak of it as the mere attribute of God.

"Thus Theophilus, who was contemporary with Justin, though a later writer, says, that when God said, *let us make man*, he spake to nothing but his own *Logos*, or wisdom:" [<sup>\*</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> Monthly Review, vol. lxxviii. p. 525.

<sup>†</sup> Reply to Monthly Review, sect. 7.

αλλ' οτι ενι υμιν, Παιδαγωγοι, αλλ' οτι ενι υμιν Λογος, και ενι υμιν Σοφια.]

On this passage Dr. Horsley has more than three pages of remarks, but all which is important in them is as follows:—"The exact rendering," he says, "of Theophilus's words is to this effect. 'It was to no other person' (that is the proper force of *οτι αλλ' ενι*, *haud alii cuipiam*). 'It was to no other person that he said, *Let us make*, then to his own Word, and to his own Wisdom.' *ενι υμιν Λογος και ενι υμιν Σοφια*. The repetition of the demonstrative article with the pronoun, as well as the connexion by the copulative, clearly shows that *Λογος* and *Σοφια*, the Word and the Wisdom, are different things. Hath Dr. Priestley written a History of the Corruptions of Christianity, and hath he yet to learn, that in the language of Theophilus and of the best writers of his age, the Word and the Wisdom (*Λογος* and *Σοφια*) are used as proper names of the second and third persons of the Trinity? If his own reading in those early Fathers hath been so confined, that not one of the clear, unequivocal instances that occur in Theophilus himself, in Origen, in Tatian, and Irenæus, hath ever fallen under his own proper observation; he might have been informed of this peculiarity of their stile, from the notes which accompany the text of Theophilus in Bishop Fell's edition, printed at Oxford in 1684; which, as it is inserted in his catalogue of *principal* editions, it is possible he may have seen. Theophilus's assertion, that God spake to no other person than his Word and his Wisdom, is an assertion that he spake to persons of no less dignity than the Son and the Holy Ghost."\*

The following is Dr. Priestley's reply:—"In translating the passage in Theophilus, in which mention is made of God's speaking to nothing but his own *word* and *wisdom*, I inadvertently used the particle *or* for *and*, as you observe; but I do not see how the right translation is at all less favorable to my argument, as it may still be interpreted of God's speaking, as it were, to *himself*, or to *his own attributes*, and by no means necessarily implies that the *word* and *wisdom* of God were distinct persons. However I have other instances in proof of what I

\* Charge iii. § 2.

advanced that are not liable to any charge of ambiguity, which it therefore behoved you to consider."\*

The reader who is not familiar with Dr. Horsley's manner, and who has no other knowledge, respecting the passage in question, except what he derives from merely reading Dr. Horsley's attack and Dr. Priestley's answer, may perhaps conclude that the latter was guilty of a mistake, which discovers very gross ignorance. This is evidently the impression that Dr. Horsley intended to make. Such a one may therefore be somewhat surprized to learn, that Petavius, a man whose erudition is scarcely ever spoken of except in terms of wonder, did not, any more than Dr. Priestley, suppose this passage of Theophilus to refer to the three persons of the orthodox trinity; and that if this be an error, he is equally liable with Dr. Priestley to the charge of *very confined reading in the early Fathers*. "Theophilus," he says, "explains the trinity very differently from what is consistent with Christianity." Then, after quoting the passage in question, he adds—"In this there is no mention of the Spirit, which he seems to have confounded with the Logos. For I have before shewn that this writer calls the Logos both 'the Spirit of God' and truly 'Wisdom.'"<sup>†</sup> Bull, who quotes this passage of Petavius, and from whom Dr. Horsley, as I suppose, has borrowed his explication of Theophilus, answers, that the ancients confounded the names of the second and third persons of the trinity; that they sometimes called the second person "the Spirit of God," which was commonly the name of the third; and sometimes the third person "Wisdom" ΣΟΦΙΑ, which was commonly the name of the second.‡—But it is still further to

\* First Letters to Dr. Horsley, Let. 8.

† Trinitatem longe aliter explicat Theophilus quam Christiani fert professio. . . . Ibi mentis nulla Spiritus, quem cum *πνεῦμα* confusione videtur. Eundem quippe *Λόγος* et *πνεῦμα* et *Deus* et voce *σοφίας* appellare superius ostendimus. Petav. De Trin. l. i. c. 3. n. 6.

‡ Veteres secundæ et tertiæ personæ, ob communem utrique tum naturam, tum ab eadem *πνεῦμα* *πνεῦμα* derivationem etiam nomina fecisse communia. Hinc ut secundum *θεωμεν* aliquando Spiritum Dei vocant, (ut superius ostendimus) quo tertiæ frequentius designant; ita naturam *σοφίας* nonnunquam tertiæ personam indignant, quo tamen secundam *σοφία* et *σοφία* notare solent. Hoc præter Theophilum, ab Irenæo quoque et Origine factum esse alibi observabimus. Def. Fid. Nic. sec. ii. cap. 4. § 10.

he observed, that Dr. Priestley was not unacquainted with the supposed use in question of the word *Σοφία*, Wisdom, to designate the third person of the trinity; though Dr. Horsley implies the contrary; and it is remarkable that this appears from his comment (in the first edition of the *History of the Corruptions*\*) upon another passage of Theophilus, to be next mentioned, which, as he has particularly noticed the passage, Dr. Horsley must have seen—"It could hardly," says Dr. Priestley, "have been imagined from this passage, that by *Wisdom*, Theophilus meant the *Holy Spirit*, the third person in the modern trinity, had not the same term been used by other writers, and especially by Tatian, who was contemporary with Theophilus. For he also makes a trinity of *God, his word, and his wisdom*."

Dr. Horsley has reasoned from the phrase *ὅτι ἅλα τινος*, as necessarily signifying a person. "The 'nothing but' of Dr. Priestley's English," he says, "conveys quite another idea than the *ὅτι ἅλα τινος ἅλα* of Theophilus's Greek." And accordingly, instead of saying—"It was to NOTHING BUT his own Word and Wisdom, that God spake," he translates—"It was to NO OTHER PERSON," &c. This however is not the necessary force of the phrase in question.

I confess that I have some doubt whether Dr. Priestley has committed any other mistake respecting this passage of Theophilus, except translating *or* instead of *and*, a mistake, which I am sorry to see he has not corrected.

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THE following is from the first edition of the *History of the Corruptions* (p. 99.)

"Theophilus says, that the three days which preceded the creation of the heavenly bodies on the fourth day, in the first chapter of Genesis, represent the sacred mystery of the trinity, viz. *God, the Word, and Wisdom*.' He adds, 'the fourth day is the type of man, who needs light, that the word may be God, and the man wisdom.'"

The latter part of this passage is thus translated by Dr. Horsley:—"Having said, that the three first days were types of

\* P. 99.

the trinity, Theophilus adds, 'The fourth was a type of Man, who is in need of Light. That there might be, or, So that there is, God, the Word, the Wisdom, Man.'"\* [*ὡς ὁ Θεός, Λόγος, Σοφία, Ἄνθρωπος.*]

Dr. Priestley acknowledged his first translation to be wrong, and has corrected it in conformity to that of Dr. Horsley; making however the same use of the passage as before.

DR. PRIESTLEY, in the first edition of the History of the Corruptions, (p. 74.) says—"Both Noetus and Sabellius were charged by their adversaries with being patripassians, but according to Epiphanius, Noetus was simply an unitarian, declaring upon all occasions with great boldness, that 'he neither knew nor worshipped any God but one.'"

On this Dr. Horsley remarks—"Noetus' confession, according to Epiphanius, was this:—"that he acknowledged one God, who was begotten, who suffered and died.' But suppressing, or in your *rapid glances* having not observed, the latter part of this acknowledgment, asserting the sufferings and death of his one God; you produce Epiphanius as an evidence, that—"Noetus was simply an unitarian," &c.†

Dr. Priestley acknowledged his error, and has expunged the latter part of the sentence.

DR. HORSLEY objects to the representation of Dr. Priestley in the following sentence, (History of the Corruptions, P. 1. sect. 4.)

"Some persons in opposing Sabellius, having made three *Hypostases*, which we now render *persons*, separate from each other, Dionysius, bishop of Rome, quoted with approbation by Athanasius himself, said that it was making three Gods."

The sentence in which the persons opposing Sabellius are described, is as follows:—*Εἰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, ζῶντες ἀλλήλων, παρὰ ἀλλήλους, διακρινόμενοι τὴν ἁγίαν τριάδα.* This Dr. Horsley translates—dividing the Holy Trinity into three persons, "unrelated to each other, and distinct in all respects." "In your translation of the passage," he says to Dr. Priestley, "by omit-

\* Charge iv. § 11.

† Letters to Dr. Priestley, Let. 1. § 6.



ting the very significant adjective *æternus*; and the very emphatical adverb *semper*, you leave hardly any difference between the opinion which Dionysius censured, and the catholic faith, which Athanasius maintained.”\*

In noticing what he considers Dr. Priestley's inaccuracies in the History of the Corruptions, Dr. Horsley has the following passage:—“Such is your assertion [vol. i. p. 61.] that in the age of Tertullian it was not pretended ‘that the subject of the trinity was above human comprehension;’ when but a few pages back [vol. i. p. 37.] you had produced a passage from Irenæus, in which the generation of the Son, which is a part only of the subject, is mentioned as so wonderful a thing, as to be understood by none ‘except the Father, who begat, and the Son, who is begotten.’”†—It is only necessary to observe, that Dr. Horsley in his first quotation has inserted the words, *of the trinity*, which are not in the original; that it is not of the whole of this subject that Dr. Priestley is speaking; and that between the two passages Dr. Horsley has given, the following occurs, (p. 38.) “It must be understood, that when the doctrine of the divinity of Christ was first started, it was not pretended, *except by Irenæus in the passage above quoted* (who was writing against persons who pretended to more knowledge of this mysterious business than himself), that there was any thing *unintelligible* in it, or that could not be explained.”

In his First Letters to Dr. Horsley, Dr. Priestley quoted Chrysostom, as saying, that “Our Saviour never [*εωκρινε*] taught his own divinity in express words.” This error was pointed out by a correspondent of Dr. Horsley, and is corrected by Dr. Priestley in his History of Early Opinions, where he again quotes the passage. He there renders it—“Our Saviour did not always teach,” &c. [Vol. iii. p. 73.]

DR. HORSLEY had affirmed that Grotius maintained the high orthodoxy of the Nazarenes,† making the following reference—

\* Letters to Dr. Priestley, Let. 1. § 7.

† Ib. § 4.

† See Repository, vol. i. pp. 232, 233, note.

Grotius in *Matth. c. 1*. Dr. Priestley produced a passage from the comment in question (*Grotii, Op. vol. ii. p. 4.\**), in which he speaks of the Nazarenes without any such assertion. There is another passage respecting them however in the same comment, (*p. 5.†*) which, whether it support him or not, was the one to which Dr. Horsley referred. This was pointed out to Dr. Priestley by a friend, and is produced and commented upon by him, in the Appendix to his *Second Letters*. On this Dr. Horsley remarks:—"To prove that Grotius fails me, and says no such thing as I ascribe to him, Dr. Priestley produces a passage from Grotius, to which I never meant to allude, and which is indeed nothing to the purpose. But he takes no notice of the passage upon which my assertion was built, and to which the margin of my publication referred him.

"The satisfaction which it gave me to find myself thus confuted, was still increased, by the retraction of this confutation in my adversary's appendix. A retraction, which in effect is little less than the confession of the fraudulent trick, which, had not the advice of friends seasonably interposed, it is too evident, he meant to put upon the public. I say upon the public; for upon me he could not think that it would pass. Whatever may be his opinion of my learning; he has, I believe, had some experience of my vigilance, in watching the movements of an enemy; and he could not imagine, that the passage, which he produces, would pass with myself, for that which I cited. But he has heard perhaps from those who know me, of the constitutional indolence which domineers in my disposition; and under this circumstance, and the declaration which I had made of my intention to give him no reply, he thought himself secure against detection."<sup>‡</sup>

I scarcely know a specimen of controversial insolence and indecency more disgraceful to its author than that which I have just quoted.

DR. HORSLEY had said, "that the genus could not be predicated of the specific differences." Dr. Priestley appears,

\* "*Certe Nazari illi Berœenses,*" &c.

† —"*non probantur in fidei negotio,*" &c.

‡ *Remarks, P. i. § 4, 5.*

through inadvertence, to have understood this, (as in fact to give any force to Dr. Horsley's remark it is necessary it should be understood) "that the genus could not be predicated of the species," and to have answered it accordingly. On his answer Dr. Horsley remarks: Remarks, P. i. § 8, and note.

In the seventh of his First Letters to Dr. Horsley, Dr. Priestley wrote as follows:—"as you recommend the writings of Bishop Bull, without exception, I presume you approve of his Defence of the *damnatory clause* in the Athanasian creed, (indeed you mention this among his most valuable works) and this, in my opinion, is going back into all the darkness and horror of popery."

There is no such work of Bishop Bull as what Dr. Priestley mentions; and this was observed by Dr. Horsley in reply. The work to which Dr. Priestley referred was his *Judicium Ecclesie Catholicæ, &c. i. e. The judgment of the catholic church in the three first centuries, concerning the necessity of believing that our Lord Jesus Christ is the true God*; in which Bull undertakes to defend the anathema annexed to the Nicene creed, "a thing," says Dr. Priestley, "of exactly the same nature with the *damnatory clause* of the Athanasian." Dr. Priestley excuses himself for his error, as not having had the book before him when he wrote; and as having spoken of it from memory. The *Judicium Ecclesie Catholicæ* was particularly recommended by Dr. Horsley, Charge i. § 1.

THE following is from the Hist. of Early Opinions, iii. 281.

"Grabe says, that Ebion (by which we must understand some Ebionite) wrote an exposition of the prophets, as he collected from some fragments of Irenæus's work, of which he gives some account in his note upon the place."

The error here is, that Dr. Priestley should have said, from some fragments of Ebion's work, instead of Irenæus's, as appears from the note of Grabe, which he has given in the margin. Dr. Priestley has stated the fact correctly in the third of his Second Letters to Dr. Horsley. Jamieson remarks upon this *important* error with his usual diffuseness: vol. ii. pp. 58, 59,

DR. PRIESTLEY brings a great number of passages from the Fathers, to prove, that John first clearly taught the divinity of Christ.\* One of these is from Eusebius, which he has translated as follows:—"John began the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, that being reserved for him, as the most worthy."†

Dr. Priestley should have said, that John began *with* the doctrine of the divinity of Christ. Eusebius is comparing him with Matthew and Luke, who began with his genealogy according to the flesh. The passage however is still directly in proof of that, for which Dr. Priestley has adduced it; the latter part, in which it is said, that the doctrine of the divinity of Christ was *reserved* for John, being correctly rendered. The error is pointed out by Jamieson.

ANOTHER error, relating to the same subject, is noticed by John Pye Smith in his Letters to Mr. Belsham. It is in the following passage: [Hist. of Earl. Opp. vol. iii. pp. 128, 129.].

"Chrysostom represents all the preceding writers of the New Testament as children, who heard, but did not understand things, 'and who were busy about cheese-cakes and childish sports, but John,' he says, 'taught what the angels themselves did not know before he declared it;' and he represents them as his most attentive auditors."

The whole citation is here erroneous. The persons whom Chrysostom represents as children, &c. were those auditors of John, who did not understand his doctrine.—In the same paragraph the word *unbegotten* should be *only begotten*.

THE following is from the History of Early Opinions, Vol. iii. p. 239.

"As to the term *Alogi*, given to the unitarians by Epiphanius, it may be safely concluded, that it was imposed on a false pretence, viz. their denying the authenticity of the writings of the apostle John, and their ascribing them to Cerinthus, *for which there is no evidence besides his own*."

Philaster, a later writer than Epiphanius, and who is sup-

\* Hist. of Earl. Opp. B. iii. c. 7.

† Eus. Hist. Lib. vi. cap. 24.

posed by some to have made use of his work in writing his own upon heresies, "has too," says Lardner, "a heresy that rejected John's gospel and revelation, and ascribed both to Cerinthus; he does not call them by any name." Austin and John Damascenus, after Epiphanius, speak likewise of persons who rejected St. John's Gospel and the Apocalypse, and who were called *Alogi*. So likewise another late anonymous author of the *Prædestinati*. Jamieson, [vol. ii. p. 286.] after mentioning the above writers, endeavours to prove in addition that Irenæus likewise speaks of heretics who rejected St. John's gospel; but in this is not, I think, supported by the words of that author, which he has quoted. There is no doubt however, that before the time of Irenæus there were heretics, who rejected the gospel of St. John, as Marcion, for instance, and his followers. The Ebionites likewise, according to Irenæus, made use of the gospel of St. Matthew only. But the question is—whether there were in reality any sect, answering to the description given of the *Alogi* by Epiphanius, and who retaining the other scriptures, rejected the writings of St. John; or, whether this sect be the mere fiction of Epiphanius, as Dr. Priestley and Lardner suppose? With respect to Irenæus the answer is, that no such sect is mentioned by him. Dr. Priestley's statement, respecting Epiphanius' account of the *Alogi* in his History of the Corruptions, is not liable to the same objection as that in his later work. He there says—"no other person before Epiphanius makes any mention of such a thing." P. i. sect. 1.

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IN Dr. Priestley's Biographical Chart prefixed to the History of Early opinions, Plotinus is placed a century earlier than he ought to be. One of Dr. Priestley's opponents, a Mr. Howe, labored to represent this as intentional on the part of Dr. Priestley, for the purpose of giving the idea that the early Fathers borrowed their Platonism from him. The date of Plotinus is given correctly in Dr. Priestley's Chronological Table. See on this subject Dr. Priestley's Letters to Candidates for Orders, Letter iv. p. 97.

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"Two inconsiderable mistakes," says Dr. Priestley, "Mr. Howes has observed in my History, which I shall correct. . . . I had rendered *ἀδύνατον* *abominable rites*; whereas Mr. Howes, with great probability, conjectures, p. 73, that it means the *abomination* with which, according to Epiphanius, the Ebionites held other people. He also justly observes, that I had no foundation for saying that the word *Ebion* (and not *Ebionite*) was not mentioned by Tertullian."\*

IN quoting a passage from Irenæus,† Dr. Priestley has represented him as saying—"God—will judge the Ebionites." The subject of the verb is not God, but, "the spiritual believer," Irenæus says, "the spiritual believer—will judge," &c. This error is noticed by Dr. Horsley in his Third Disquisition.

WITH respect to the veracity of Origen, Dr. Priestley notices Jerom's saying that he adopted the Platonic doctrine of the subserving of truth to utility. But he adds—"Jerom was far from saying, that 'Origen reduced his theory to practice.' He mentions no instance whatever of his having recourse to it, and is far, indeed, from vindicating any person in asserting, that to silence an adversary, he had recourse to the wilful and deliberate allegation of a notorious falsehood."‡ Jerom, as quoted by John Pye Smith in his Letters to Mr. Belsham, says—"Origin, Methodius, Eusebius, and Appolinarius write many thousand lines against Celsus and Porphyry. Think by what arguments, and by what slipperly sophisms, they confute the entwisted artifices of the diabolical spirit; and because they are sometimes forced to it, in answer to the objections of the heathens, they say not what they think, but what the case requires.—"It is astonishing," says Mr. Smith, "that in the same page, in which Dr. Priestley refers to this very passage, he goes on to say—'Jerom was far from saying that Origen reduced his theory to practice.'" If Dr. Priestley be understood to mean that Jerom did not say or insinuate that Origen was ever guilty of wilful falsehood, his assertion is correct.

\* Letters to Candidates for Orders, p. 102.

† Hist. of Earl. Opp. vol. i. p. 279.

‡ Ib. vol. iii. pp. 199, 200.

HISTORY of Early Opinions, Vol. iii. p. 192.—Dr. Priestley should have translated *loci injuria*—by *defiling the place*, not by *destroying the place*. The error is noticed by Jamieson, [Vol. iii. p. 173.] who objects likewise to his translation of the words in the same passage—*quia tum pene omnes Christum*, &c.

SAME work, Vol. iii. p. 259.—Quotation from Nicephorus. Jamieson [Vol. ii. p. 333.] says, that Nicephorus is here speaking of the times of Constantine, when as it is agreed that unitarians held separate assemblies, the quotation is nothing to Dr. Priestley's purpose. I think however Jamieson's own statements and the passage itself show, that Nicephorus is not speaking of the times of Constantine.

SAME work, Vol. iii. p. 308.—“After the bishops,” says Dr. Priestley, “had deposed Paulus Samosatensis, it is observable that only sixteen signed the condemnation.” The ground of this statement is, that only the *names* of sixteen are prefixed to the synodical epistle giving an account of the condemnation of Paul, as preserved by Eusebius, B. vii. cap. 30. But after these names it is added—“and all the rest assembled with us, bishops, presbyters, and deacons of the neighbouring cities and provinces; and the churches of God,” Whether there be sufficient foundation for Dr. Priestley's remark I do not pretend to determine. Jamieson objects to it as erroneous. [Vol. ii. p. 416. seqq.]

SAME work, Vol. iii. p. 197.—Quotation from Origen. Jamieson thinks that the passage of Origen (which is given in the margin) does not support Dr. Priestley's inference. He supposes *Judeis* to be understood after *cis*. [Vol. ii. p. 168.]

SAME work, Vol. iii. p. 232. Dr. Priestley, speaking of the Jewish Christians, who were driven from Jerusalem by the edict of Adrian, says—“It is most probable that they joined their brethren at Pella, or Bæræ in Syria, from whence they had come to reside at Jerusalem.” According to Jamieson he  
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should have said, *Pella in Peræa*. Pella being a city in Peræa, a country beyond the Jordan, where the Jewish Christians retired before the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. There was a city of Syria, called Beræa.

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SAME work, Vol. iii. p. 163. "Irenæus objects to the Gnostics that they were of late date, but says nothing of the Ebionites in that respect." Jamieson [vol. ii. p. 61.] says, that it is not to the Gnostics *generally*, but only to a part of them, that Irenæus thus objects. The remark would be wholly unimportant if it were correct; but I think it will appear from the original, that it is not. [See Irenæus, Lib. iii. c. 4.]

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SAME work, Vol. iii. pp. 164, 165. Epiphanius makes the Ebionites and Nazarenes contemporary with St. John. "It must be owned however," says Dr. Priestley, "that, in no perfect consistence with this account, Epiphanius places the origin of the Nazarenes after the destruction of Jerusalem." Jamieson [vol. ii. pp. 67, 68.] objects that there is no inconsistency;—that, according to Epiphanius, St. John lived to the reign of Trajan; and that in the section in which he makes Ebion contemporary with the Nazarenes, he says, that at the time "all the believers in Christ lived in Peræa," i. e. after the destruction of Jerusalem, "occasion was given to Ebion" to make proselytes.

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SAME work, Vol. iii. p. 87. Quotation from Athanasius. "For the Jews . . . thought that Christ was a mere man, only that *he came* of the seed of David," &c. [*οτι μὴ τὸν χριστὸν ψιλὸν ἀνδρᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ ἐρχόμενον.*] Dr. Horsley in his eleventh letter, and a correspondent of his contend, that *ἐρχόμενον* should be translated in a future sense. "They thought," is Dr. Horsley's translation, "that Christ was *a-coming* as a mere man only."

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I HAVE thus noticed all the charges of error, with which I am acquainted, made by any respectable authority against Dr. Priestley, in regard to his quotations, his translations, and



his statements of facts. I have noticed every thing in Jamieson, (except what I may have accidentally passed over) which I did not think founded upon too obvious a blunder, or in itself too idle a cavil to be produced. I cannot think that any considerable number of real errors, which have been charged upon Dr. Priestley, has escaped me, and I believe very few of any material importance. I confess I am astonished at the smallness of the whole number which has appeared, not merely in the collection just made, but in the course of these accounts. Though knowing something of the controversy before I gave it particular attention, I knew that the charges against Dr. Priestley of carelessness, error, and misrepresentation, had been greatly exaggerated, yet I did not expect to find them so wholly without any proper foundation. The History of Early Opinions, requiring as it did a great compass and variety of learning, for any thing that has yet appeared, is one of the most accurate works of the same nature, which has ever been given to the world. "Out of eighteen hundred references," says Dr. Priestley, speaking of this publication, "I will gladly compound for eighteen being found defective." In his preface to it he expresses himself in the following manner:—"With great tranquillity and satisfaction, therefore, I now commit this history to my friends, and to my enemies; sufficiently aware that it is not without its defects to exercise the candor of the former, and the captiousness of the latter. But no work of this extent, and of this nature, can be expected to be perfect. I have myself discovered great mistakes and oversights in those who have gone before me; and notwithstanding all my care, I shall not be surprized if those who come after me, especially if they walk over the same ground more leisurely than I have done, should find some things to correct in me. To make this as easy as possible, I have printed my authorities at full length. But I am confident, that all my oversights will not invalidate any position of consequence in the whole work; and this is all that the real *inquirer after truth* will be solicitous about."

As to the charges of wilful error and intentional misrepresentation; if the preceding statements be correct, they of course fall to the ground. But I suppose that no man of any reputa-

tion himself will, at the present day, pretend to revive these charges against the character of Dr. Priestley.

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MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS.

THIS account having already occupied so much space, I will only notice very briefly a few of those things, upon which I might otherwise have somewhat enlarged.

SINCE writing in the last number of the Repository what respects the great difference of the notions of the early Fathers concerning the trinity from the present orthodox doctrine, I have met with the following passage of Semler—a writer, says Professor Marsh, “who has made a more particular study of ecclesiastical history, perhaps than any man that ever lived.”—“Itaque nemo fere eruditiorum hodie dubitat, paucos istos scriptores Christianos, qui ante concillium Nicænum fuerunt, non parum differre in describenda trinitate, ab auctoribus, qui inde a seculo quarto vergente scripserunt; licet fuerint adhuc patrum nostrum memoria, qui aliam sententiam tenebant, præeunte G. Bullio.”\* i. e.—“Scarce any one of the more learned now-a-days doubts, that those few Christian writers, who lived before the council of Nice, differed not a little in their accounts of the trinity from the authors who wrote after the latter part of the fourth century; though there were some, in the memory of our fathers, who, following Bull, maintained a different opinion.” Dr. Horsley, one of these followers of Bull, has, it seems, according to Semler, progressed no further in his knowledge of ecclesiastical antiquity than those who lived within the memory of our fathers.

IN looking through Dr. Priestley's *History of Early Opinions*, I cannot find that he has produced the following passage from Epiphanius' heresy of Sabellius, which, as well as many others that he *has* quoted, and which I have not mentioned, confirms his opinion of the prevalence of unitarianism among the great body of Christians. It is referred to in his *History*

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\* Semleri Institut. ad Doctrinam Christianam liberaliter discendam, 1774. Lib. ii. cap. 3—§ 109—p. 306.

of the Christian Church, Vol. i. p. 365.—“Therefore,” says Epiphanius, “when they [the Sabellians] meet any of those, who are more simple or well meaning, such as do not clearly understand the sacred writings, they propose this question to them—what shall we say—do we hold one God or three Gods? which, when he that is conscientious and not perfect in the knowledge necessary to safety hears, immediately, being troubled in mind, he consents to their error, and is found denying God—denying the existence of the Son of the Holy Spirit.\*

The passage of Origen mentioned Rep. Vol. i. p. 272, note (†), is too long to be here produced: § 26 is an error of the press for § 24. Op. Tom. iv. pp. 347, 348. Edit. Delaru.

I HAVE in these accounts spoken of those who were sometimes called Patripassians, and likewise of the Sabellians as being no other than properly unitarians. There is very little doubt, that the charge against the former of believing that the Father suffered, was a mere calumny, or rather a mere sophism of their opponents, which in fact is contradicted in the very writings of the latter; nor is there more doubt that the Sabellians believed in one God without distinction of persons, and in the proper humanity of our Saviour. On the whole of this subject the reader may consult the History of Early Opinions, Vol. iii. chapters xvii. & xviii.—See also Lardner’s Credibility, Part ii. c. 41. Works, Vol. iii. pp. 12, 13. (he here refers to Beausobre,) and his History of Heretics, B. ii. c. 20. sect. 8. Works, Vol. ix. p. 497. in which last passage the quotations given are quite decisive, that the charge of making the Father suffer was urged against those who did not maintain or admit the opinion.

No one will suppose that it has been at all in my power to give even a summary of a great part of the evidence produced

\* Εἴτε ὅταν συνέρχωνται τισὶ τῶν ἀφελωτάτων ἡ κειραίων, τοὺς μὴ τὰ σαφεῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ γράφον γινώσκοντων, τῶν περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐφύγαντων ταύτης—οἱ αὖ ὡπαρῶν, ἢ οὗτοι, ἵνα Θεὸς ἕχῃται, ἢ τρεῖς θεοί; ὅταν δὲ ἀκούσῃ ὁ ἐκ εὐλαβείας αὐτῆς, καὶ μὴ τὰ τελεῖα τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐπιστάντων, εὐθὺς τοὺς τοὺς παραχρῆμα, συγκατατίθεται τῇ καίῳι πλάνῃ, καὶ εὐρίσκειται ἀρνημένος τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ εὐρίσκειται ἀρνημένος τὸ εἶναι Υἱοῦ, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Epiph. Op. Tom. i. p. 514. Edit. Petav.

by Dr. Priestley, in respect to the prevalence of unitarianism in the Gentile church. I have noticed only that which has been controverted. See particularly *History of Early Opinions*, Vol. iii. from p. 319. to the end, where are some very important statements, to which no answer has been attempted even by Jamieson.

I HAD noted several things to be observed upon respecting Dr. Horsley's writings in this controversy, but I will merely mention them very briefly, as proper to be attended to by his reader.

1. CHARGE i. § 3. p. 12. Dr. Horsley asserts, in a comment ] on John, c. i. v. 2. that the natural force of *οὗτος* is to signify *this person*. See the answers of Dr. Priestley (*First Letters*, Let. 1.) the note of a correspondent to the gentleman's magazine, published in the appendix to Dr. Horsley's letters, and Dr. Horsley's very characteristic reply to the latter; in which, though he allows that *οὗτος* "is applicable to any thing of which the writer is speaking that happens to be of the masculine gender," he yet attempts to defend the ground he had formerly taken. This appeal to a supposed hidden and latent sense of words was not unfrequent with Dr. Horsley in this controversy, and was, I believe, in every case as unfounded, as in the present. See what he says of the *καὶ οὗτος ἀδελφὸς υἱὸς* of Epiphanius, (*Rep.* vol. i. pp. 244, 245)—the *ἰσχυρὸς ἰσχυρὸς* of Origen (*Ib.* pp. 252, 253.) &c.—2. Charge 1. § 15. p. 33. The writer, quoted by Eusebius, is probably antedated by Dr. Horsley. Lardner supposes him not earlier than the beginning of the third century.—3. Remarks, Part i. § 15. p. 346. Compare what Horsley says of Sir I. Newton's Letter on 1 John v. 7. with the high praise bestowed upon it by Professor Marsh in his notes on *Michaelis*, Vol. i. p. 523. and by Wetstein in his *Prolegomena* p. 185. Compare likewise what Dr. Horsley says of Mr. Travis' "very able vindication" of this text, with what is now universally known to be the character of Mr. Travis' very weak and ignorant production.—4. Letter 15. p. 255. Remarks P. i. § 7. p. 338. Compare the manner in which Dr. Horsley speaks of the *Parmenides* of Plato, and the ad-

miration which he expresses for "that profound book" and for its mysterious doctrines, with the opinion given of it by the author of a very able Review of Taylor's Plato, in the twenty-seventh number of the Edinburgh Review. The latter writer supposes that Plato in this piece introduces the sophist whose name it bears, explaining his doctrines, merely for the purpose of exposing them to ridicule; and calls it "obscure nonsense—evidently left by Plato as a model of absurdity." Dr. Priestley had before spoken of it as wholly void of good sense. See his Second Letters, p. 145.—5. In his Dissertation on the famous passage in Tertullian, Dr. Horsley has changed, through inadvertance, the *ne dixerim* of this passage into *pæne dixerim*. The error is scarcely worth noticing; except that Dr. Horsley has half a page of comment on the *latent force* of this phrase: p. 428.—6. Dr. Horsley had charged Dr. Priestley with borrowing from Zuicker and Episcopius. Dr. Priestley replied, that of Zuicker he did not recollect ever to have heard, and that he was not acquainted with the opinion of Episcopius, (First Letters p. 2). Dr. Horsley replied (p. 95).—"You repel the imputation of plagiarism by the most disgraceful confession of ignorance to which foiled polemic ever was reduced." Dr. Priestley with considerable difficulty procured a copy of the work of Zuicker in question: and it appears from the third of his Fourth Letters to Dr. Horsley, that it is extremely improbable that Dr. Horsley had ever seen it. He had, it is likely, borrowed all his knowledge of it from Bishop Bull. The whole letter is worth reading. See Defences of Unitarianism for 1788 and 1789, pp. 17, seq.—7. From the manner in which Dr. Horsley and the Monthly Reviewer noticed the passage of Athanasius (mentioned Rep. Vol. ii. p. 30. and note) Dr. Priestley says—"It is clear that the very idea of the apostles not choosing openly to teach the doctrine of the trinity, because it would give offence to their hearers, was absolutely new to them: though I have shown it to have been the opinion of all the Christian Fathers who mention the subject. This," he adds, "discovers such gross ignorance on the subject, as is barely credible in men, who volunta-

tily undertook to criticise another." See Preface to Defences, last mentioned.

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Jamieson.

I HAVE before given some specimens of Jamieson's proficiency in the learned languages, and specimens which perhaps render all others unnecessary. I have not read his work with any critical attention for the purpose of detecting his errors; and should think myself in doing so most unprofitably employed. A considerable number however have occurred to me; some as gross as those already noticed, and some more excusable. Of these I will particularly mention only one, in addition to those that have been given. It is as follows:—

The unbelieving Jew in Celsus thus addresses and upbraids his believing countrymen:—"Χθες και πριν, και οπεινα τους εκλεξαμεν βυκαλωτε υμεις, απιστητε τι πατρι νομω"\* that is—"Yesterday and the day before, even when we inflicted punishment upon him, [i. e. Christ] who deceived you,† ye apostatized from the law of your fathers."

This passage Jamieson translates in the following remarkable manner:—"Yesterday, and the day before, even when we suffered punishment from that person [i. e. Adrian according to Jamieson] who drove us away like beasts, ye apostatized from the law of your fathers."‡

On the passage thus rendered poor Jamieson goes on commenting and reasoning. I quote only a small part. "Celsus," he says, "did not think it necessary to mention the name of him who treated them [the Jews] in this manner. Perhaps he might account it improper, as well as unnecessary; lest he should seem to reflect on the conduct of the Emperor. For it cannot be doubted that he refers to Adrian. Now, according

\* Orig. const. Cels. lib. ii. p. 59. Edit. Spencer. Op. Tom. i. 389.

† Βυκαλωτες υμεις: the metaphor cannot be preserved in English.—Βυκαλωτες—metaphorice capitur etiam in ea significatione, qua apud Latinos Passio et Lucto—Item pro Demulceo, Delinico: item et Decipio. [Stephanus.]

‡ Jamieson, Vol. ii. p. 162.

to Origen's testimony, Celsus 'lived in the time of Adrian, and afterwards.' \*#

Of the passage in question, as appears from the translation first given, Jamieson has wholly mistaken the meaning. It has no relation to Adrian or to the sufferings which he inflicted on the Jews. His blunder, which includes the grammatical mistake of translating *καταλαβειν* in a passive instead of an active sense, is of that pitiable kind, which no person of humanity would think of treating with ridicule in a writer of any modesty or ingenuity.

I WILL select for notice one other passage in his work, not as containing any error of the sort just mentioned, but to show, in addition to the evidence already given, that no confidence can be placed in his statements and arguments, not even in those which have, to a reader not familiar with the subject, the greatest show of force and plausibility.

"Lucian," he says, "in his *Philopatris*, introduces a Christian, under the feigned name of *Triephon*—as reproving a heathen for swearing by the name of Jupiter, and desiring him to 'swear by the Supreme God, by the Son of the Father, by the Spirit proceeding from the Father, one of three, and three of one. These,' he adds, 'account Jupiter, reckon this your God.' To this the heathen replies;—'You teach me to have recourse to numeration, and give me an arithmetical oath.—I know not what you say; *one three*, and *three one*.'

"This very passage," he adds, "is quoted by Dr. Priestley." . . . "It is introduced in support of his allegation, that 'from the very beginning—the orthodox were charged with making more gods than one.'" He then observes, that Lucian was contemporary with Justin Martyr and Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, that he died A. D. 171, and that he resided a considerable time at Antioch. It appears, he says, from this very passage—from the form, in which the doctrine of the trinity is delivered by Lucian—that this doctrine could not, as Dr. Priestley supposes, have had its origin in his time and that of Justin Martyr. "It was then," says Jamieson, "not merely *beginning* to unfold

\* Jamieson, Vol. ii. p. 166.

itself, but it was fully unfolded in its most exceptionable form, so as to excite the *ridicule* of heathens, and to prove the occasion of the charge of polytheism, Dr. Priestley himself being judge. . . . We must therefore," he adds, "conclude, that this doctrine was generally received and avowed by the church of Antioch. It must have been taught not by Theophilus only, but by his predecessor. For it would seem that Lucian had removed from that city, before Theophilus was bishop. This carries us back within half a century of the apostolic age." And this being the case, he infers that there can be but little doubt that it was received from the apostles themselves.\*

To one who knows nothing more of the subject than what is found in Jamieson, and who puts any confidence in his statements, this will undoubtedly appear a very strong argument of the antiquity, and consequently perhaps of the truth of the doctrine of the trinity. To one, who knows the true state of the case, it will appear a very strong argument of the ignorance or disingenuity of the writer who employs it. It is, I believe, generally agreed among the learned of the present day, that the *Philopatris*, the Dialogue in question, is not the work of Lucian; but to be referred to a later period—a fact of which Jamieson gives no intimation. Gesner, who has composed an express dissertation on its age and author, supposes it to have been written in the time of Julian, after the middle of the fourth century.†

Dr. Priestley quotes it, calling it "Lucian's *Philopatris*." At what time it was written, or whether by Lucian or not, was unimportant to his purpose; for in immediate connexion he quotes Julian as another proof, that "the heathen—upbraided the orthodox Fathers with their own polytheism, while they pretended to reclaim them from theirs." He does not quote either, as Jamieson misrepresents, in proof, that from *the very beginning* the orthodox were charged with making more gods than one.‡

\* Jamieson, Vol. ii. pp. 467—470.

† See Gesner's Dissertation, which may be found at the end of the third volume of Lucian's works by Reitzius:—or see Lardner's Jewish and Heathen Testimonies, c. xix. Works, Vol. viii. pp. 76, 77.

‡ See Hist. of Earl. Opp. B. ii. chap. 11. sect. 3.



It is not a little extraordinary that Jamieson should have undertaken to write two volumes, on a subject of ecclesiastical antiquity, without scarcely the rudiments of that learning, which was necessary to save him from continual errors. This however appears to have been the case. Nor is this all, there is a spirit of unfairness, a disposition to cavil and misrepresent, and a flippant and unmannerly style of writing throughout his work, which renders it as little creditable to the moral dispositions, as to the ability or learning of its author.

I HAVE thus finished the account of this important controversy; which has occupied much more space, and much more of my own time, than I originally expected. I leave it, without comment, to the judgment of my readers.

LETTER TO THE REV. DR. HOLMES OF CAMBRIDGE,  
WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE OCCASION OF ITS HAVING  
BEEN WRITTEN.

ON the afternoon of the Sabbath of the twenty-first of March, the Rev. Dr. Holmes of Cambridge delivered a discourse on infidelity. This gentleman officiates as preacher at the place of worship at which the Editor of the Repository usually attends; but the latter was detained from service on the afternoon of the day just mentioned. He was however informed that a part of the discourse had direct reference to the *Defence of Liberal Christianity*, published in the first number of the Repository. In consequence of this information, he the next morning sent the following note to Dr. Holmes.

DEAR SIR,

I was unfortunately detained from service, yesterday afternoon, but have been informed by several gentlemen, that a part of your discourse had particular relation to some sentiments advanced in the *'Defence of Liberal Christianity,'* a piece published in the Repository. Of this piece, as I presume is generally known, I was myself the author. You will therefore, I trust, excuse me for the liberty I take, in requesting you to fa-

vor me with the loan of this discourse, or to have the goodness to transcribe for me the part, which had the particular reference that I have mentioned. I am respectfully, &c.

*Cambridge, Monday.*

The Sermon being sent without any note or message of explanation, all doubt was removed that the reference supposed was really intended. The discourse was from the text (John xviii. 37.) *Every one that is of the truth, heareth my voice.* Its object was to show, that all infidelity proceeds from hatred to the truth and depravity of heart. Having, as he conceived, established this point, its author proceeded to observe, that all pretensions of infidels to a love of truth are unfounded, and added — "If they then are vain and presumptuous in making such false pretensions, when declared by Christ himself to be enemies of the truth, what must be said of their Christian apologists, who, in their zeal to defend Liberal Christianity, do not scruple to ascribe to these very unbelievers, at least to the choicest of them, sincerity in the pursuit of truth and holiness in conformity to its requirements? WHAT ELSE CAN BE SAID, THAN THAT THEY GIVE THE LIE TO JESUS, THE SON OF GOD?"

The sentiments in the Defence of Liberal Christianity, to which the above was intended to refer, must be those contained in the paragraph beginning at the bottom of the fifth page, [Rep. Vol. i.] which we request our friends to read with attention. The discourse was returned with the letter now to be published. The Editor has understood that the same passage has been animadverted upon, and misrepresented, by other clergymen in their discourses from the pulpit. The publication of this letter, or of something of a similar character, he therefore conceives to be proper and necessary. To such animadversions, the only means of reply in his power is through the medium of the Repository. The public will judge of the propriety and fairness of attacks of this sort, which affect the minds of many to whom no answer will probably reach, and produce, perhaps by erroneous representations, distrust and hostility in those, who are themselves wholly inca-

pable of judging of the correctness or incorrectness of the sentiments, which are the subject of censure:—especially, when it is recollected that the Repository is and always has been open to all pieces, written with decorum and ability, opposing any sentiments, which may have been advanced in the work by the Editor or his correspondents; and thus a mode of reply is furnished, by which the answer will circulate equally with the original piece, and which will afford an opportunity of fairly comparing them together.

*LETTER, &c.*

DEAR SIR,

*Cambridge, March 24, 1813.*

I REGRET that you should have thought it necessary or proper, to notice any thing I may have written, in the language which you use with reference to a passage in the Defence of Liberal Christianity. You have not, I think, spoken of the opinions which I expressed upon the subject of infidelity, in such a manner as to give a correct impression concerning them. I will state to you what my opinions are, and what they have been, and make some remarks upon the passage in question. You will thus have an opportunity of again judging both of the correctness of my opinions, and of the propriety of the language you have used—language, you will permit me to observe, for which no common error on my part, no error, I think, merely of opinion, can be plead in justification.

If then I be asked—whether any man of honest, fair, and virtuous mind, any sincere lover of the truth, who witnessed the miracles and heard the instructions of our Saviour, could have been other than a believer, could have acted otherwise than to hear his voice? I answer, that in my opinion he could not:—nor is anything to be found in whatever I may have written, that, in the slightest degree, implies a contrary sentiment. Such being the fact, how can you say, Sir, that I have contradicted the words of our Saviour? I refrain from using the expression, which you have employed, because it must be in a high degree shocking and offensive to one who habitually regards the character of our Saviour with reverence and veneration; though, in my opinion, this ought to have been one of the least

of your motives for avoiding it. There is, Sir, I must state distinctly, no pretence for saying that I have contradicted the language of our Saviour—as you yourself have explained his meaning. The following is the paraphrase which you give of his words.—“Every one that is of the truth heareth my words:”—that is, as you yourself explain it, “I have given such ample proof of the nature and object of my mission, and such expositions of the spirituality of that moral kingdom, which I came to establish, that every honest and well disposed person pays an entire deference to my instructions. All the lovers of truth obey me, and are my disciples.” I say with confidence, that you have nothing to produce from the piece in question, or from any other of which I am the author, that contradicts what you have explained to be the meaning of our Saviour.

But you say, that if the language of our Saviour “was originally applied to Jewish unbelievers, it is no less applicable to all unbelievers, who have knowledge of the gospel, because the same evidence essentially is set before the one, as was at first presented to the other.” This being what you consider the case, you therefore argue, that if I attribute (which I must observe however that I have not done) a sincere love of truth to to any unbeliever in a Christian country, no matter under what circumstances he may be, that I contradict the language of our Saviour. I should however contradict nothing but an inference of your own, and an inference founded upon a supposition, which, at the first view of it, appears to me obviously incorrect, viz.—that the evidence set before every such believer is as strong, nay, ‘is essentially the same,’ with what was presented to those, who lived in the times of our Saviour. I do not insist upon the unguarded expression ‘essentially the same;’ but I maintain that in the two cases supposed, there may be a great difference in the degrees of evidence enjoyed. I do not mean to say, nor have I ever said, that there is at the present day any deficiency in the evidences of Christianity, when *our religion and its evidences are fairly and fully presented to the mind*, or that supposing them to be so, a man can be honestly an unbeliever. To my own mind, its evidences have almost the force of mathematical demonstration. But let us suppose one who

heard the doctrines and precepts of Christianity as they flowed, pure and yet uncorrupted, from the lips of our Saviour, who was present at the displays of that power, which could only have been given by God, and who witnessed that entire holiness of life, which was, scarcely less than his miracles, a proof of the divinity of his mission; or let us suppose one who had known that his followers were terrified and dispersed at his death, full of consternation, distress, and disappointment, and who saw them but a few days after appearing in public, and heard them proclaiming the resurrection of their master, in the city which had beheld him on the cross, who knew that they never faltered in their story, that they met without shrinking all danger and all suffering in attestation of its truth, and who saw in them the same displays of miraculous power which had been exhibited by Christ himself—to either of the persons whom I have supposed, I say, that the evidence for the truth of our religion must have been of a very different kind, and incomparably stronger, than what may be enjoyed by one educated in a country where its corruptions prevail, who has been taught to consider Popery or Calvinism as Christianity, and who has not the ability or the learning to force himself against the current of popular error, and to ascertain that this is not the truth; such a one is not only deprived of a very great part of the internal evidence of Christianity, but may even think that he discerns strong internal evidence against its being a divine religion; and thus prejudiced against it, in some degree from the very correctness of his feelings and opinions, he may not have the requisite means, not the opportunities, nor the learning necessary for becoming fully acquainted with the external testimony in its support. I have not stated the strongest case in my power with regard to an unbeliever of the present day. I have preferred stating one, which is simple and may be generally intelligible, to one, which in itself might have been more forcible. You see, Sir, why I think your assertion erroneous, that the same evidence essentially is, at the present day, set before every unbeliever, as was at first presented to those who rejected our Saviour. On this assertion you ground your inference, that no unbeliever can be sincere in the pursuit of truth; and supposing me to have

denied this proposition, which I have not, you accuse me, because you think I have denied your inference, of contradicting our Saviour himself.

But I do not mean to lead you to suppose it my opinion, that in every age, and in every country, and under all circumstances, an hatred to truth, arising from depravity of heart, has been the only cause of unbelief. I think it would be quite as well if we Christians attended a little more to the direction of the apostle—to be ready to give every man a reason for the hope that is in us “with meekness and fear;” you know, Sir, the meaning of these latter words is—“with gentleness and respect;” or, if we considered as applicable to the present case the direction of a still higher authority, “not to judge, lest we ourselves be judged.” For myself I believe that the corruptions of Christianity have been one of the most powerful, and one of the most lamentable causes of infidelity; and, as far as these have operated, it has been an hatred of error, and not an hatred of truth, which has repelled men from our religion. Though there is bigotry enough in our country, I hope no great outcry will be raised by my publicly quoting the words of one of the most enlightened defenders of our religion. “I think it,” says Bishop Watson, “just as illiberal in divines, to attribute the scepticism of every deist to wilful infidelity, as it is in the deists, to refer the faith of every divine to professional bias. . . . And how severe soever some men may be in their judgments concerning one another; yet we Christians at least hope and believe, that the great Judge of all will make allowance for ‘our habits of study and reflection,’ for various circumstances, the efficacy of which, in giving a particular bent to the understandings of men, we can neither comprehend nor estimate.” There is, in my opinion, very gross injustice in confounding men, on whose minds, from various causes, the evidences of our religion have not had their proper force, but who live as if they had no doubt of its truth, with the ignorant and profligate revilers of Christianity.

In the paragraph in the *Defence of Liberal Christianity*, to which you refer, I will now notice all that you will find asserted or implied, concerning the character of unbelievers—all there-

fore to which you can have had any reference. By saying (in answer to what I suppose may be urged against me) that the instances are very rare of "sober and rational infidels, who believe the being, the providence, and moral government of God, and a future state," I imply perhaps an acknowledgment that there are such instances. One such I have noticed, Lord Herbert of Cherbury. But if I had directly made the acknowledgment, I should have been supported by sufficiently orthodox authority.—"Ubelievers," says Dr. Horsley in his Letters to Dr. Priestley, "are of two kinds," and the first whom he mentions are "The sober deists; who, rejecting revelation, acknowledge however the obligations of morality; believe a Providence and expect a future retribution." In what I have said then, concerning such unbelievers, I do not think you will find any thing objectionable.—I then make what is merely a supposition for the purpose of answering an objection, and what I repeatedly state to be merely a supposition, concerning one "who has honestly sought after the truth without finding it, and who, relying upon natural religion alone," conscientiously performs his duties to God and man. To this, as it is only an hypothesis, you surely can have nothing to object, nor is it worth while for me to go into an argument upon the question, whether the thing be morally possible or not? It was not then to my purpose, nor is it now.—The only other passage, to which you can refer, is one, in which I say, that if it be urged by an opponent, that an unbeliever may have as much virtue and piety as a liberal Christian; I answer, that if it be so, he may equal also in these respects an orthodox believer;—and then say, which I believe is the only direct assertion to which you can have reference, "that for ourselves, to take the example, which may be brought against us, we do not think that lord Herbert was inferior in Christian charity to Calvin, or in truth and honesty to Beza, or in real piety and holiness to either."

I may now ask, what there is objectionable in this latter assertion? Because I thought meanly of the Christian charity of Calvin, or of the truth and honesty of Beza, must I of course think that lord Herbert was deficient in benevolence and good

will toward his fellow-creatures, and that he could be justly charged with disingenuity and falsehood? Because Calvin persecuted Servetus to the stake, and afterward spake in mockery of his sufferings and his wretchedness, and because he followed Castilio, with malice that was never softened by his poverty or appeased by his banishment, is it a crime for me to think that lord Herbert would not have been guilty of similar depravity? Because I believe that Beza has been convicted of dishonesty and falsehood, must I be liable to the heaviest charges, if I do not believe that lord Herbert has been convicted of dishonesty and falsehood also? Or when I think that neither Calvin nor Beza, though Christians, entertained ideas of God or of his moral government at all so honorable to his character, so conformable to the representations of our religion, or so likely to produce proper affections toward him, as those held by lord Herbert, must I believe contrary to the probability of the case, and what I may think the testimony of their lives, that they exceeded him in piety and holiness?—There is at most nothing to be objected to in the assertion in question, except the characters to whom I have compared lord Herbert. With respect to these there are undoubtedly opinions very different from my own. But that lord Herbert was superior in all the moral qualities before mentioned to many who have professed themselves Christians, is not, I suppose, to be denied. And if this be so, there is nothing in my error, supposing it to be one, about the characters of Calvin and Beza, on which to found a charge of contradicting the words of Christ.

I have thus, Sir, I think, shewn, that there is nothing in what I have written, and nothing in the opinions which I hold, to justify or excuse the language you have used.—I will only detain you for a moment longer to observe, that this language is such as would seem to me, in any case, extremely improper. If you had supposed, which you do not, that the words of our Saviour had direct reference to all men who might at any time live in a Christian country; and if I had really written what opposed this explanation—still I should have contradicted nothing but your explanation. It is a very gross, but a very common error, to identify ourselves with our Saviour and his apos-



ties, and our explanations of scripture with the scriptures themselves. What was taught by Christ and his apostles is the foundation of my faith, quite as much as of yours; and I, Sir, shall be quite as solicitous as yourself, to discover what they did teach, to separate this from all mixture of human error and corruption, and to avoid every thing contradictory to their doctrine.—The language, which you have used, might be used with not more impropriety, toward any fellow Christian who differs from us in our explanations of scripture, and expresses sentiments conformable to his opinions. The believer in transubstantiation may tell the Protestant, who denies that the bread and wine are the real body and blood of Christ, that he contradicts our Saviour himself;—the Arian, who quotes the words, ‘My Father is greater than I,’ may tell him who maintains his perfect equality, that he contradicts our Saviour himself;—and, not to multiply instances, he, who maintains that we shall be judged according to our works, may tell the orthodox believer in imputation, that he contradicts our Saviour himself. As matter of argument all this would be of no great force, and you can judge how far it would promote Christian charity.

I have only further to observe, that as your observations were public, I shall make my vindication public also, in the only manner which is in my power. The present letter will be inserted in the next number of the Repository. Any remarks, which you may wish to make upon it, will undoubtedly find a place, if you desire it, in the same work.

I am respectfully your obedient servant.

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NOTE TO THE PRECEDING LETTER.\*

I MAKE a note for the purpose of justifying my remarks with respect to Calvin and Beza.

Calvin's persecution of Servetus is well known, and I am only about to quote a few passages, to show the spirit in which it was carried on. In the defence of his conduct, which the former published after the death of Servetus, he says, that Servetus, when before his judges, vomited out railings against him,

\* This Note was not sent with the Letter.

He says,—“The cruel sentence was communicated and read to Servetus the same day. Was it a wonder that Servetus was overcome and perturbed, hearing this unexpected condemnation to be burnt alive!—But what deep rancor must have penetrated the inmost recesses of Calvin’s soul, in those moments, in which he wrote these bitter and unrelenting words. ‘Now he appeared entirely stupified, now he groaned vehemently, now he screamed like a madman—at last he bawled out in the Spanish tongue—*miserecordia, miserecordia, mercy! mercy!*’”\*

I will now say something of Calvin’s treatment of Castalio.

Castalio was a man of exemplary innocence and modesty, one of the most elegant scholars, and one of the most enlightened Christians of his time. He had been the friend of Calvin; but was ordered to leave Geneva, on account of his maintaining some opinions contrary to those held by Calvin. He retired to Basil, where he employed himself on his translation of the scriptures. To him was attributed a work in defence of toleration, and against inflicting punishment on heretics, which appeared soon after the death of Servetus. Having enraged the enmity of Calvin, by differing from him in opinion, the latter published two pieces against him, in which he attacked him, as was his custom, with every sort of scurrility. Castalio was poor, and had a great deal of difficulty to get bread for himself and his children. In one of his attacks, Calvin, with somewhat more than his usual brutality, reproached him with stealing wood. There is something very touching in the reply of Castalio to this accusation. He says—that being in extreme want, and unwilling notwithstanding to quit his translation of the scriptures, he took a drag-hook at his hours of leisure to pull out the pieces of wood, which floated on the river, to warm his family at home; this wood belonged to nobody but to the first who laid hold of it. The fishermen, and many others, were employed in getting it as well as himself; and this was done in the sight of the whole city. He adds, that at one time, there were above two hundred persons who employed them-

\* As authorities for this, Mr. van der Kemp refers to Bockius—*Historia Antitrinitarianorum*, Vol. ii. cap. 1. pp. 371, 372. and Venema—*Historia Ecclesiastica*, Tom. vii. p. 475.

selves in stopping the pieces of wood, which were driving down toward the city; and that himself and four of his friends stopped a great deal of it; for which the magistrates ordered them to be paid four pence a piece, and left them the wood.—“I could not have thought,” he says to Calvin, “that you, that you who knew me, would have given credit to this story—but that you would even publish it to the whole world, and spread it among posterity, I could not, though *I knew you*, have believed.”\*

Calvin has indeed spread the story among posterity, but not to the injury of Castalio. I need not observe to one acquainted with the history of the times, that Servetus and Castalio were not the only persons who suffered from the malignity and violence of Calvin.

OF Beza, I will not say many words. With respect to the charge of dishonesty and falsehood, I refer the reader to Porson's Letters to Travis.†—Dr. Campbell likewise, in his account of Beza's translation of the New Testament, in one of his Preliminary Dissertations, has shown him to have been guilty of many instances of that, which when I call it infamous dishonesty, I believe very few readers of the dissertation will accuse me of using too strong language. Similar remarks to those made by Campbell are likewise made by Macknight. Beza's character, I may also observe, is sufficiently indefensible on other grounds than those of his truth and honesty.

\* See Bayle's Dictionary, article Castalio, where the original authorities are given. The charge was made by Calvin in his *Brevis responsio ad diluendas nebulonis cujusdam calumnias, quibus doctrinam de eterna Dei predestinatione fadare conatus est.*

† I think, I cannot be wrong in this reference, though I have not the work at hand, and it is some time since I have seen it. Beza, in the first and second editions of his New Testament, affirmed, that HE HAD SEEN the text, 1 John v. 7, in some of the ancient MSS. of Robert Stephens. He had not seen it, nor had any one else ever seen it, in these MSS. In his subsequent editions he altered this so as to say—“It is extant in some of the ancient MSS. of Robert Stephens.”

REPLY OF THE REV. DR. HOLMES  
TO THE PRECEDING LETTER.

**AFTER** the whole of what precedes had been given to the printer, and the first part of it struck off, as far as to page 305, the following was received from Dr. Holmes. In that part of the preceding pages, which had not been struck off, no alterations of course have been made in the letter to him, nor have any additional statements been made in the note, nor any alterations, except such as are commonly made in a proof-sheet, the manuscript copy of which has been hastily written, as was the present case.

*REPLY, &c.*

DEAR SIR,

*Cambridge, 27 March, 1813.*

OF your "Defence of Liberal Christianity" I shall only say, that I never saw it but once (soon after its publication), and that I neither knew its *author*, nor could even have told its *title*, until I was informed of the one, and reminded of the other, by your Note. Nothing more need have been said, in reply to your Letter, had that been restricted, as it out to have been, to the passage in my Sermon, in which you thought yourself so deeply interested. But since, availing yourself of my indulgence in lending you the Sermon for an examination of "the passage in question," you have thought proper to make strictures on the Discourse itself, with the declared purpose of publishing them; I seem to be required, in justice to myself, to make some remarks on your strictures. In the mean time, it may be a question for your consideration, how far such freedom with the manuscript copy of a Sermon, the "loan" of which had been requested as a "favor," is consistent with the established rules of liberality and civility. Whether the view of it, given by one, who restricts the application to himself, may be presumed to do it justice, every one may judge.

To many observations, in your Letter, in which I have no concern, I deem it unnecessary distinctly to reply. What if there is a difference between "sober deists" and "profligate revilers of Christianity?" The origin of their unbelief may still

be the same. What if "the corruptions of Christianity have been one of the most powerful causes of infidelity?" It was not my design to point out all those causes, but simply the primary and radical cause; else I might have mentioned the corruptions of Christianity, and left the hearers to judge, whether those, ascribed to the Protestant Reformers (whose praise is due to all the churches), or those, proceeding from the Historian of those Corruptions, have made the most deists. I might, in this case, however, have observed, that the great stumbling block of unbelievers is to be found in the doctrines themselves; and have adduced the authority of lord Herbert of Cherbury, the Father of English deism, who represents the Christian religion "as containing doctrines, which disgust some men against all religion, and therefore is for recommending what he calls a universal religion, as the best way to prevent men's having no religion at all." What if the same Herbert was "superior," in some "moral qualities, to many who have professed themselves Christians?" The inconsistencies of professed Christians are nothing to the present purpose. The comparison, or contrast, between the English deist and two of the most learned and pious Reformers, comes closer to the question; but—to say nothing of the deadly thrusts, so liberally aimed at these CHRISTIANS—so far as a *holy* character was meant to be ascribed to the DEIST, there is a manifest *petitio principii*, which a logician would choose to avoid. If the solemnity with which Herbert addressed the Supreme Being, to learn whether he should publish his book *De Veritate*, and his ready assent to the affirmative signal, let in by a flash of light at his window, be thought a sufficient proof of his sincerity and impartiality in the search after truth, although he would not be persuaded by the miracles of Christ; and if his exterior deportment were such, as to be thought a sufficient proof of his holiness; it does not follow, that higher proofs, both of sincerity and holiness, than are given by any unbeliever under the light of Christianity, may not be required "in the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ, according to the Gospel." *I judge no man;* but merely say, that the contrary opinion is opposed to what I

believe was demonstrated, in my Discourse, to be "the mind of Christ."

I would here observe, that by the phrase "under the light of the gospel," as used throughout that Discourse, was most obviously meant, a situation in which a knowledge of the gospel, as contained in the writings of the Evangelists and Apostles, might essentially be acquired. There was not a single reference to human explications; nor but one, to the "Christian ministry." If by the misconstructions of Calvin or Priestley, or of any religious teacher or expositor, "another gospel" be offered for the true, and access cannot be had to the GOSPEL OF CHRIST, such instances are wholly foreign from the present question.

In regard to the evidences accompanying the gospel at its first promulgation, compared with those accompanying it now, if some of them have apparently become diminished, others have assuredly become increased. The evidence from prophecy has been progressively strengthening. Some of the Old Testament prophecies have been fulfilled since the time of Christ, and many striking ones of the New. If those unbelievers in our Saviour's day, who would "not hear Moses and the prophets, would not have been persuaded though one rose from the dead," although the instructions of Moses and the prophets could be obtained from their *writings* only, and although the Word of God had become corrupted by the expositions of the scribes and the traditions of the elders; it appears to me an assumption to affirm, that unbelievers, who have Moses and the prophets, Christ and the Apostles, would be persuaded by that, or any other miracle. Until this be *proved*, it is no presumption to consider the words of Christ as essentially delivered in the gospel to us, as they were to those who originally heard them; and therefore the source of infidelity the same now, and infidels of the present day of the same character, as in the time of Christ.

The *language* of my Sermon is made a subject of stricture, and an apostolical precept is introduced for my admonition. When called to "give a reason of my hope" or faith, I would ever give it "with gentleness and respect." In that part of the

Discourse, on which you have been pleased to bestow such elaborate attention, I was *not* giving a reason of my faith or hope to any man; but applying an inference for caution and admonition to my hearers: This application, which was expressed in the interrogatory form, I left and still leave, to their candor. If, in the reading, the coherence of this part of the Discourse with the preceding, and the design of the whole, had been duly observed, the excellent precept of the apostle (relating to a *personal answer*), taken in *either* translation, might have been thought less violated by the preacher, and would possibly have been more regarded by his monitor.

My Discourse was founded on those words of Christ, JOHN xviii. 37. *Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice.* The doctrine, derived hence, was, That every lover of truth, under the light of the gospel, must be a Christian; an inference from it was, That infidelity, under the gospel, must be ascribed to hatred of the truth; the application of this inference was, a question to this purpose, Whether, when unbelievers have been declared by CHRIST himself enemies of the truth, their Christian apologists, who, in their zeal to defend liberal Christianity, ascribe to them sincerity in the pursuit of truth, and holiness in conforming themselves to its requirements, do not contradict Jesus Christ? If the doctrine was proved, as it was believed to be, the inference was just, and fairly applicable to all Christian apologists, of the above description, in Christendom.

The occasion requires me to add, that while I would not give just cause of offence to any man, I would never forget that Divine Tribunal, to which I am responsible; nor forbear to speak what I apprehend to be the truth, such truth, especially, as I believe to be seasonable, in this Age of Reason, and not less necessary to the present virtue and piety, than to the future and everlasting salvation, of the souls committed to my charge.

If, on a review of the subject, you still think the article of sufficient importance to occupy the pages of the Repository, I request you to subjoin to your Letter this Reply, and to consider it as, on my part, final and conclusive.

I am, Sir, your's with regard,

MR. NORTON.

A. HOLMES,

To the preceding Reply of the Rev. Dr. Holmes the following answer was returned,

SECOND LETTER TO REV. DR. HOLMES.

DEAR SIR,

Cambridge, March 29, 1813.

To the reasonings and statements in your letter, I do not wish to make any very particular reply, though on some of them I shall offer a few remarks. There are other things however, which it contains, that it is proper for me to notice.

The first is your implied charge of incivility against me, on account of the use which I have made of your discourse. In respect to this I will only observe, that if you publicly make animadversions on the character and writings of any person, that person, beyond all doubt, has a right publicly to quote and comment on your words. That he should quote them *correctly*, I should suppose no great breach of civility; and if he had requested you to furnish him with your remarks, *merely on the ground that they related to himself*, I should think it rather a want of civility, if he should not, than if he should, make use of that means of quoting them correctly which you had afforded him.—You insist on my use of the word *favor*.—I had thought that the meaning of the common words of ceremony was generally understood.

In immediate connexion with your charge of incivility, you accuse me, by implication also, of having misrepresented your discourse. Of the probability that I have done so, you say every one will judge. Fortunately for me, you have yourself given a statement of the design of your discourse, which our readers may compare, either with what I have said in my former letter, or in a short introduction that I have prefixed to it, giving an account of the occasion of its having been written, which has already passed through the press. I believe they will detect no other difference in our accounts, than what might be found in the statements of two impartial persons concerning the same discourse; and none which in any degree affects the correctness of the remarks in my preceding letter. You will recollect that all that was important to my purpose in your discourse (a very small part indeed), I have quoted in your own



words. You suggest that I have probably given an erroneous account of the whole sermon, because, as you imply, I have restricted its application to myself. This is your assertion implied with sufficient plainness; and it is wholly out of my power to conjecture, what can have led you into this extraordinary mistake. As I never thought, so I never have intimated, that any part of your discourse referred to any thing I may have written, except about half of a paragraph in one of your inferences.

I will now make a few observations upon some things which you have advanced in answer to my former letter, before proceeding to what is the principal remaining object of the present. I had said that the corruptions of Christianity were one of the most powerful causes of unbelief. You say, on the contrary, "that the great stumbling block of unbelievers is to be found in the doctrines themselves;" and you adduce the authority of lord Herbert of Cherbury in proof of your assertion, and in opposition to mine. You quote however, not the words of that author himself, but of Leland, who says of him, that "he representeth it [the Christian religion] as containing doctrines, which disgust some men against all religion, and therefore is for recommending what he calls the universal religion, as the best way to prevent men's having no religion at all." Nothing can be certainly inferred from this statement; but if it should appear that what lord Herbert, in conformity to the erroneous opinions of his age, considered as doctrines, were in fact what I should regard as corruptions of Christianity, then his authority is little favorable to your purpose. I have not at hand the work of that author, on a passage of which Leland founds his assertion. But I can produce a more full account of the passage from a writer of the last century, who replied to lord Herbert; I mean Halyburton. You will excuse the coarseness of his language. He says—"Our author tells he embraced this catholic religion, *quod in controversa a controversis distinguat*, &c. It is needless to repeat all our author's words here. What he says is in short this, That *particular religions* (and here he must be understood to speak particularly of Christianity) contain austere and frightful doctrines that prejudice some men of squeamish stomachs at all religion (and is it to be wondered at,

that men, who have no heart to any religion, are disgusted easily?) But our author has provided them of one that will not offend the most nice and delicate palate, as consisting of principles universally agreed to; which he supposes such persons will readily close with, and so retain some religion, whereas otherwise they would have none.—Here our author evidently designs a thrust at the Christian religion, and insinuates, that it is stuffed with austere and horrid doctrines. I know full well what are the doctrines he aims at: The doctrines concerning the corruption of man's nature, the decrees of God, the satisfaction of Christ are particularly intended.\*—These then, it seems, were the doctrines, which lord Herbert thought disgusted men with all religion. But in my opinion, the doctrine of the corruption of *man's nature*, the doctrine of irrelative reprobation and election, or, in other words, the doctrine of decrees, and the doctrine of *satisfaction*,† are no parts of true Christianity. They are some of those doctrines, which I should esteem and speak of as among its corruptions. In attempting therefore to disprove, by the authority of lord Herbert, what I have said, viz.—that the corruptions of Christianity make men infidels; you have produced an authority which is directly in my support.—Perhaps however you only meant to say, that what I should call the *corruptions* you would call the *doctrines* of our religion, and thus to agree with me in the fact, that certain articles of belief, which have been supposed to belong to Christianity, are in truth among the most powerful causes of infidelity. If this were the case, I do not know why you have quoted the authority of lord Herbert; as we should then be agreed in the fact which he states, that the articles of faith referred to do make men infidels, and his authority could decide nothing respecting the correctness or incorrectness of our opinions, on the truth or falsity of the doctrines themselves.

\* Natural religion insufficient; and revealed necessary to man's happiness in his present state. By the late Rev. Thomas Halyburton, professor of divinity in the university of St. Andrews. Edinburg, 1714. With chapter xiv. a new enumeration of pages commences: the above extract is from chap. xix. p. 76.

† See Note at the end of this Letter.

I pass to another part of your letter, in which I observe, that you now make an exception in favor of unbelievers, who, though living in a Christian country, may not have access to the Gospel of Christ; by which I suppose you mean, may not have the use of the Bible. Of this exception you gave no notice in your discourse. But as I did not introduce the case of such unbelievers, in stating the great difference in the degrees of evidence, presented to those who witnessed the ministry of our Saviour or his apostles, and to many who live in Christian countries at the present day, your exception does not affect the force of my remarks. "Such instances," as you yourself observe, "are foreign to the present question."

But if, as I presume is not the case, *by having access to the gospel of Christ*, you mean, *having a correct knowledge of our religion*; and you intend to make an exception in favor of unbelievers, who have not this knowledge, then Sir, our sentiments, though not perhaps the same, are so nearly similar, that if I be liable to the charge of contradicting our Saviour, I fear that you cannot be absolved from it yourself.

You speak of those *unbelievers* in the time of our Saviour, who would not "hear Moses and the prophets," and who, he gives us to understand, "would not be persuaded though one rose from the dead;" and you found an argument on this passage of scripture. It is only necessary for me to observe, that, in my opinion, you have mistaken its meaning. If you are not satisfied of this by examining the passage itself, and will take the trouble to look into Whitby (whose comment I shall quote for the sake of our readers),\* you will find that in his opinion, which is the same with that of some other commentators whom I have consulted, the passage has no reference to *unbelievers*.

You say that in this Age of Reason, you shall not forbear to speak what you think the truth. You cannot suppose me ignorant of the allusion intended. I do not think however that this sort of irony will do much, toward discouraging Christians from using their reason, in discovering the character of their religion. But, Sir, you must suffer me to remind you of what you seem to have forgotten, that we, who do use our reason in the study and explanation of the scriptures, are not behind

\* See Note at the end of this Letter.

those whose faith is more implicit and more fearful of all free inquiry, in profound reverence for our religion, and a deep and strong conviction of its immense importance to mankind. You must suffer me to remind you, that the most powerful cause of our decided opposition to what we think its corruptions is, that in our opinion, they degrade and vilify the greatest blessing ever bestowed upon mankind, and prevent its general reception, and far more powerful influence.

I come now to what is one of the principal objects of the present letter. To a careless reader your introductory remarks may give the impression, that you intended in no part of your discourse to refer to the Defence of Liberal Christianity. To me they convey no such meaning, nor do they at all affect my opinion on the subject. I must presume that you would be very unwilling to say that by apparent implication, which you would not say in direct words. One principal motive, therefore, for my troubling you with this letter is, that you may have an opportunity of explaining yourself, and of distinctly and explicitly stating in reply, either that you did or that you did not intend a reference, in that part of your discourse in which you speak of the Defenders of Liberal Christianity, to any thing contained in the piece which I have mentioned. Your reply, whatever you may state, I shall publish in the Repository, as it is now too late to suppress this correspondence, a considerable part of it having been struck off when I received your letter. If you intended such reference, I must regret that you did not take the trouble (as you state to me that you did not) to look at the piece on which you remarked, at the time when you wrote. It might perhaps have relieved you from any belief of the necessity of noticing it at all; or at least have saved you from error in your representation of its meaning. If no such reference was intended, I certainly have been greatly mistaken. Of this however I cannot feel very much ashamed, as I have for companions in my error some of the most respectable and intelligent among your hearers. Indeed every person, who has spoken to me on the subject, received the same impressions from your language. You will recollect likewise, that I have had particular confirmation in my error, which others have

not had. When I requested your discourse, merely, as I stated to you, because I had been repeatedly informed that a part of it related to a piece of which I was the author, and when you immediately sent it to me, without any note or message of explanation, I do not know, Sir, how I could well understand this otherwise, than as an acknowledgment, that such reference was really intended.

I could have remarked upon other parts of your letter than I have done, but am willing to leave them without comment to the judgment of our readers. On account of arranging matter for the press, I must request you, if you wish to explain yourself on the subject last mentioned, to send me a note either this evening, or in the course of tomorrow. If, notwithstanding what you mentioned in your last letter, you should wish to make any general reply to the present, I must also request you to inform me before tomorrow evening, at what time I may probably expect it.

I am respectfully your obedient servant,

ANDREWS NORTON.

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NOTE, REFERRED TO p. 318.

As all our readers may not know what is meant by *satisfaction*, we give the following orthodox authorities on the subject. Calvin considers satisfaction, as the compensation which was paid to God, *compensatio quæ Deo redderetur*.<sup>\*</sup> He says, in treating of the subject—the following passage would not be true, *there is one Mediator who gave himself a ransom*,<sup>†</sup> unless the punishment were cast on him, which we had merited. So the same apostle defines *redemption in the blood of Christ*, to be *remission of sins*; as if he had said, we are justified and cleared before God, because that blood answers for *satisfaction*. To which another passage is consonant, *that he blotted out the hand-writing, that was against us, nailing it to his cross*,<sup>‡</sup> for here a ransom, or compensation is referred to, which frees us from the charge of guilt.<sup>§</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> Institut. Lib. iii. c. 14. § 39.

<sup>†</sup> 1 Tim. ii. 5.

<sup>‡</sup> Coll. ii. 14.

<sup>§</sup> Non staret etiam alterum ejus dictum, *unus Mediator, qui se dedis*  
Vol. III. No. 2.

The following is the account of the business of satisfaction given by the Council of Dort.

"God is not only supremely merciful, but also supremely just. But his justice demands (as he has revealed in his word) that our sins, committed against his infinite Majesty, should be punished not only with temporal but also with eternal punishments, as well of mind as of body—which punishments we could not escape, unless satisfaction were made to the justice of God.

"But when we could not ourselves make satisfaction, and free ourselves from the wrath of God, God, out of his very great mercy, gave his only-begotten Son to answer for us—who, that he might make satisfaction, was made sin and a curse for us, or in our stead, on the cross.

"This death of the Son of God is the only and a most perfect offering and satisfaction for sins, of infinite value and price, abundantly sufficient to expiate the sins of the whole world."\*

The following is what the Westminster divines say on this subject in their Confession of Faith.

"The Lord Jesus, by his perfect obedience and sacrifice of himself, which he, through the eternal Spirit, once offered up

*avilæque, nisi rejecta in eum esset poena, quam meriti eramus. Ideo idem Apostolus, redemptionem in sanguine Christi definit remissionem peccatorum; ac si diceret justificari nos vel absolvi coram Deo, quia sanguis ille in satisfactionem responderet. Cui et alter locus consonat, dictum fuisse in cruce chirographum, quod erat contrarium nobis. Solutio enim vel compensatio notatur que nos a reata absolvit. Institut. Lib. ii. cap. 17. § 5.*

\* *Secundum doctrine caput de morte Christi, et hominum per eam redemptione.*

*Articulus primus.* Deus est non tantum summe misericors, sed etiam summe justus. Postulat autem ejus justitia (prout se in verbo revelavit) ut peccata nostra, adversus ejus infinitam majestatem commissa, non tantum temporalibus, sed etiam æternis, tum animi tum corporis poenis, puniantur: quas penas effugere non possumus, nisi justitiæ dei satisficiat.

*Et.* Cum vero ipso satisfacere, et ab ira dei nos liberare non possimus, deus ex immensa misericordis Filium suum unigenitum nobis sponsores dedit, quæ, ut pro nobis satisfaceret, peccatum et maledictio in cruce pro nobis, seu vice nostra, factus est.

*III.* Hæc mors Filii Dei est unica et perfectissima pro peccatis victima et satisfactio, infiniti valoris et pretii abunde sufficiens ad totius mundi peccata expianda. Acta synodi nationalis Dordrechtanz, p. 251.

unto God, hath fully satisfied the Justice of his Father; and purchased not only reconciliation, but an everlasting inheritance in the kingdom of heaven, for all those whom the Father hath given unto him." [Chap. viii. sect. 5.]

"Christ by his obedience and death, did fully discharge the debt of all those that are thus justified, and did make a proper, real, and full satisfaction to his Father's Justice in their behalf." [Chap. xi. sect. 3.]

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*Extract from Whitby, referred to in the Letter, p. 249.*

On the text "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead," Whitby has a note, from which the following is quoted—"If they hear not, that is, *obey* not Moses and the prophets, WHOM THEY OWN TO BE PERSONS SENT FROM GOD, AND DELIVERING HIS MESSAGE, one rising from the dead would not persuade them to break off their iniquities;"—"No reason," says Whitby, "could be conceived, why they should hearken to one risen from the dead and calling them to repentance, rather than to those prophets, WHOM THEY ACKNOWLEDGED TO BE SENT FROM GOD."

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To the preceding letter, no answer has been returned. If any should be hereafter received, it will be mentioned (if received in season) in the Editor's Note to the present number, and inserted in the number following.

*April 8, 1813.*

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## REVIEW.

Neq. vero hæ sine sorte datæ, sine iudicio, sedes.—*Virg.*

### ARTICLE 6.

*A contrast between Calvinism and Hopkinsianism. By the Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely, A. M. stated preacher in the Hospital and Almshouse in the city of New-York. New-York, S. Whiting & Co. 1811. 8vo, pp. 280, price \$1.75. With its Recommendations.*

**T**HIS work has much more consequence from the persons and interests with which it is connected, than from any equity in the compilation or ability in the notes. We intend to review both the work, and the letters which recommend it. We shall review the letters first, because this will best show our readers why we consider the work of importance to the public; and because we shall thus give an opportunity, before our next number, for those to look at the book, who have not already seen it, and who take sufficient interest in the subject.

The letters are printed upon a separate sheet, and have been circulated, at least in part, with the book. We think them of consequence enough to be preserved in the Repository; and we shall thus also meet the present convenience of the readers of this article.

Our reasons for paying such unusual attention to the *recommendations* of a work will be so obvious in the course of our remarks, that we need not anticipate them here.

We now give the letters as they stand in the circular of the publishers of the "Contrast."

### RECOMMENDATIONS.

*Copy of a Letter from SAMUEL S. SMITH, D. D. LL. D. President of the College of New-Jersey.*

"Dear Sir,

"Princeton, Oct. 5th, 1811.

"I MUST ask your pardon for so long delaying the expression of my thanks for your useful assortment of the religious errors



and absurdities of certain writers in our country, who have gained a reputation, far beyond what nonsense and impiety should acquire for a divine. These follies appear the more striking, by being brought so near together as they are in the Contrast, and separated from that farrago of verbiage and tautology with which they are encompassed in the original volumes. The basis of their argumentation is the same with that of the necessitarian philosophers in France and Germany. And I am persuaded that these profound divines are preparing the way for a more extensive diffusion of infidel principles, and even of atheism, in our country. I wish your book might be generally and seriously read, and the sentiments it exposes duly appreciated. I am, with great regard and respect, &c.

"SAMUEL S. SMITH," D. D. LL. D. &c.

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"COLUMBIA COLLEGE, New-York, Nov. 10th, 1811.

"I HAVE read with attention, a great part of a book published by the Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely, entitled, "A Contrast," &c. and believe the author has performed a valuable service to the cause of religion, and merited the gratitude and support of Christians in general, by exhibiting, with perspicuity and ability, a view of the novel doctrines lately introduced into some congregations in our country, as contrasted with the real doctrines of the Reformed Church, and the principles of evangelical truth revealed in the word of God, and hitherto cherished in the hearts of the followers of the Redeemer, in every quarter where his Gospel has been preached with simplicity and sincerity.

"P. WILSON," LL. D.

*Professor of Languages in Columbia College, and one of  
the Elders of the Reformed Dutch Church.*

"In the above ample and just recommendation of the Rev. Mr. Ely's Contrast, I cordially concur.

"JOHN Mc NIECE," A. M.

*Pastor of the Irish Presbyterian Church in New-York.*

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"For years we have considered as highly desirable to the religious public, a work which should make a fair contrast between the doctrines of Calvinistic churches, and some prevalent errors in theology. In the "Contrast between Calvinism and Hopkinsianism," the author has correctly exhibited, in his Calvinistic columns, the Calvinistic doctrines; and he has arranged, under the term Hopkinsianism, certain sentiments, which appear to us, not only inconsistent with the standards of the Presbyterian Churches, but also at war with the philosophy of the human mind, with common sense, and with the word of the living God,

Such sentiments, in whatever connexion they may be taught, by whatever names they may be recommended, ought to be exposed and reprobated in the most decided manner.

"GEORGE FAITOUTE," A. M.

*Pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Jamaica; L. I.*

"PHILIP MILLEDOLER," D. D.

*Pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Rutgers-st. N. Y.*

"G. A. KUYPERS," D. D.

*One of the Pastors of the Reformed Dutch Church in New-York,*

"ALEXANDER Mc LEOD," D. D.

*Pastor of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, New-York.*

"JOHN B. ROMEYN," D. D.

*Pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Cedar-st. New-York.*

"CHRISTIAN BORK," A. M.

*Pastor of a Reformed Dutch Church, New-York.*

"THOMAS HAMILTON," A. M.

*Pastor of the Associate Church in Nassau-st. New-York.*

"JOHN SCHUREMAN," A. M.

*One of the Pastors of the Reformed Dutch Church, New-York.*

"STEPHAN N. ROWAN," A. M.

*Pastor of the Reformed Dutch Church, Greenwich, New-York.*

"ALEXANDER GUNN," A. M.

*Pastor of the Reformed Dutch Church, Bloomingdale, New-York,*

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"THE public attention has been lately drawn to what is commonly called, "THE NEW DIVINITY;" or, by a name still more popular, "HOPKINSIANISM," which professes to improve the received system of Calvinistic doctrine. As truth is eternal, and the way of salvation but one, the very pretence of great "improvements" in the body of Christian theology, is a legitimate cause of suspicion, and ought to put Christians on their guard. For the "new light" which men are apt to boast, not unfrequently proves to be merely a new edition of old darkness. The first approaches of Error, silent, subtle, and insidious, rarely excite alarm; and when her progress is felt, her power has become great, and may be fatal. Therefore, they, who are "set for the defence of the Gospel," ought to watch her steps, expose her designs, and not wait till, of her own accord, she throw off her mask. This is, pre-eminently, their duty, at the present hour, in the city of New-York. No place on the continent has been so long happy in doctrinal concord among all denominations termed evangelical. This, their auspicious unity, has been recently invaded; and invaded by no other means than the introduction of "Hopkinsian" principles, or what are generally recognised as such. It is, therefore, of importance, that Christians should know what these principles are, and how far they agree or disagree with the "faith once deliver-

ed to the saints." Their inquiries will be facilitated by the perusal of a short work, entitled, "A Contrast between Calvinism and Hopkinsianism," by the Rev. EZRA STILES ELY. The author has brought within a small compass, and arranged in parallel columns, the outlines of both systems, as taken, on the one hand, from Calvin and the confessions of Protestant Churches; and on the other, from Dr. Hopkins himself, and some of his most celebrated followers. As the quotations are in the words of the writers, and give, so far as we have been able to examine, a fair representation of their sentiments, no reasonable objection can be offered to the mode of comparison. For only *he that doeth evil hateth the light; neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reprov'd; whereas, he that doeth truth, cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest that they are wrought in God.* The doctrines of Calvinism, in other words, the good old doctrines of the Reformation and of the Bible, dread no examination, comparison, or contrast. We think, therefore, that Mr. Ely has performed a valuable service to Christians of plain sense and pure conscience, by enabling them to understand, with little trouble, what "Hopkinsianism" is. And we nothing doubt that, upon sober research, they will find it to be, in some very material points, "another Gospel" indeed; and that neither have they *so* learned, nor do they wish so to learn, JESUS CHRIST."

"JOHN M. MASON," D. D. & T. P.

*Minister of the third Associate-Reformed Church in New-York.*

"JACOB BRODHEAD," A. M.

*One of the Pastors of the Reformed Dutch Church in New-York.*

"JAMES M. MATHEWS," A. M.

*Assistant Professor in the Theological Seminary of the Associate Reformed Church.*

"JOHN X. CLARKE," A. M.

*Pastor of the Second Associate Reformed Church in New-York.*

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*Copy of a Letter from J. H. LIVINGSTON, D. D. S. T. P. President  
Of the College in New-Brunswick.*

Dear Sir,

"By professing the Christian faith, the Gnostics came into the bosom of the primitive church, and for the space of three centuries disturbed her tranquillity, and obstructed the progress of the Gospel. They combined the oriental science with the Platonic system of "being in general," of "abstract beauty;" "disinterested love;" and "the best of all possible worlds;" of which they had not any correct idea themselves; and attempted to blend their heterogeneous principles with revealed religion, and accommodate the pure, simple, and sublime doctrines of the Son of God, to the tenets of their contemptible philosophy. They spoke of the Most

High with a familiar and disgusting irreverence; and deduced consequences from the premises they had adopted, which were shocking and impious, and which tended not only to render the scriptures unintelligible, but Christianity itself incredible and detestable.

"In the course of the last century, the system of the best world was revived and polished in Germany, with all the advantages that genius and erudition could afford, by the celebrated Leibnitz and Baron Wolf. Their *mundus optimus*, with its collateral inferences, was received and applauded through all the protestant churches of continental Europe. It was considered as the test of true science, and the highest improvement of the intellectual system. But what is the result? What has been the consequence? By that very philosophy the public mind became imperceptibly alienated from the authority of Scripture and the simplicity of the Gospel; and that system has evidently co-operated in opening a passage for the flood of infidelity, which, at this day, has overwhelmed those European Churches. There is no new thing under the sun. The same causes will every where produce the same effects. Errors are insidious and subtle: slow and silent, at first, in their progress, but sure of success, if undetected. They always eat, as doth a canker.

"To what philosophy, instead of the Bible, they have submitted, or to what family they are related, whose doctrines you have exhibited in your CONTRAST, I do not know. But you have established the fact, that by whatever name or title they may be distinguished, they certainly are not Calvinists. They have departed, in many points, from the Confessions of Faith, and the form of sound words, adopted by the Reformed Churches; and it is time they were known, and a line of distinction drawn.

"If it be the duty of all the Lord's people to contend earnestly for the faith, and to be jealous lest their minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ; it is especially incumbent upon those, who are set for the defence of the Gospel, and stand as watchmen upon the walls of Zion, to desory approaching danger, and give a speedy warning; and should an angel from heaven preach any other Gospel, to denounce and resist him.

"Your publication is seasonable. It will undoubtedly be productive of much good; and be well received by all those, who call no man father, but sit humbly at the feet of the meek and lowly Jesus, to seek the law at his blessed mouth. Be assured of the affection and respect with which I am, &c.

"J. H. LIVINGSTON," D. D. and S. T. P.

With one or two exceptions the letters are supported by the names of clergymen; and among them are some of the most distinguished and able men in the several denominations of

of Presbyterians in our country. Those under the jurisdiction of the General Assembly are connected, by mutual representation and by official intercourse, with the principal ecclesiastical bodies in New England. If it be not thought expedient, as it appears not to have been, by the managers of what are called the orthodox periodical publications, among the Congregationalists, to take notice of the "Contrast" on the Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely's own account, still the powerful names of those who recommend the work, and who have thus identified it with the interests of the three great classes of Presbyterians in the middle and southern, especially in the middle states, claim and ought to relieve their attention. To pass over the work, and particularly its Recommendations, in silence, looks too much like wishing to be thought to despise an enemy which they are unwilling to meet, or argues a fear to have the *people* made acquainted with the divisions and dissensions between the parties.

The majority of the men also against whose sentiments the Letters are written, and who are denied the name of Calvinists, are now, or have been when living, among the most able and celebrated divines in those congregational churches, with which the subjects of the General Assembly hold public communion, and with which they officially consult for what they consider the best interests of religion.\* Most of the names of

\* The names of the persons mentioned in the Contrast as Hopkinsians are—

* President Edwards.	Dr. Strong, of Hartford.
* Dr. Edwards, his son.	Dr. Emmons.
* Dr. Bellamy.	Dr. Spring.
* Dr. Hopkins.	President Maxcy.
* Dr. Smalley.	Rev. Mr. Weeks.
Dr. West, of Stockbridge.	Rev. Mr. Williams, of Providence.
The writers of the Massachusetts Missionary Magazine.	
The writers of the Theological Magazine.	

The two Edwardises are not quoted in the body of the work, but in the introduction.

The author says—that he "uses the word Hopkinsianism to denote that system of doctrine whose foundation was laid by President Edwards, whose superstructure was principally raised by Samuel Hopkins of Newport in Rhode Island, and whose last stone has been carried up by a multitude, shouting 'grace, grace, unto it.'" Contrast, p. iv.

\* *Dead.*

these new "Gnostics," as Dr. Livingston wishes to have others call them, are rallying points for the inferior clergy. One of them, Dr. Spring, is now a visitor of the Theological Institution at Andover, and was a principal in gaining the funds, and in establishing it, with the co-ordinate, if not chief direction of all its principles and arrangements. With their creed he is well known to be, and for the best reasons, perfectly satisfied.

The writers of the Letters, and those against whom they are written; are men much accustomed to denounce all Anti-Calvinists, and to claim for themselves exclusively the titles of *evangelical* and *orthodox*. The division therefore is particularly interesting to the cause of truth, since it is the evangelical against the evangelical; orthodoxy against orthodoxy; Calvinists against Calvinists; the General Assembly, the Reformed Dutch Church, and the Associate Reformed Church, all different and reciprocally jealous bodies, against New England, her General Associations, and the Andover College.

The importance of this division, we shall attempt to illustrate in the account we are to give, after we have examined the Letters, of the state of religious parties in our country, with their checks and balances. This subject, both clergymen and civilians, as well as laymen at large, will find to be full of interest and consequence. In examining the Letters, we shall discover much to guide our speculations, in ascertaining the spirit and designs of the leaders of the Calvinistic clergy. We shall take the letters in their order.

#### 1. DR. SMITH.

This Letter we think is an exception from the rest in its ultimate design. What we chiefly note in it is, its *equivocal character*; not indeed as to the charge of "nonsense and impiety" against the Hopkinsians, but as to any approbation bestowed upon the sentiments of the contrasted party. We do not know that this ambiguity was designed; and if it were, we shall not condemn, although in this we would not imitate Dr. Smith, however much disposed we might be to imitate him in many other respects.

In regard to the appropriate and leading sentiments of both parties, as they appear in the book, with their present connex-

ions, the Doctor might very rationally and cordially thank the writer for his "useful assortment of religious errors and absurdities;" and might very honestly wish, as in our hearts we wish, that the "book might be generally and *seriously* read," if it can be read seriously, "and the sentiments it exposes duly appreciated." If Dr. Smith views the peculiarities of both sides of the Contrast as we do, and we have some reason to believe that he does in part, he may well wish the book success.

We are more strongly inclined to think the ambiguity of this letter intentional from the suggestion in the following extract, which would be truly unfortunate in this place, provided the writer were not willing to have the "Institution" of Calvin exposed, as well as the writings of those Hopkinsians, who have made it the store-house from whence they have drawn their most offensive sentiments and expressions. "The basis of their argumentation is the same with that of the necessitarian philosophers in France and Germany. And I am persuaded that these profound divines are preparing the way for a more extensive diffusion of infidel principles, and even of atheism in our country." Now this is all true, and of the first importance; but it is quite as applicable to Calvin, as to Hopkins and his followers. We think Dr. Spring perfectly safe in asserting, "It is evident that Hopkinsian sentiments are only the genuine, flourishing, and fruitful branches of the Calvinistic tree."—"The broad foundation, which supports our ample superstructure, was long since deeply and most firmly laid in the first principles of Calvinism."

In all but "great regard and respect," we could ourselves subscribe the Letter of Dr. Smith to the Rev. Mr. Ely.

## 2. WILSON and Mc NIECE.

When our readers shall have seen our remarks upon the great authority for the first column of the Contrast (we mean Calvin), we are tempted to believe they will say with us, that this Letter is exceedingly unfortunate, in calling the doctrines of Hopkins "novel doctrines." Its writers ought not to have told the world how little they are acquainted with their own Master, or how little they understand his instructions.

## 3. FAIRBANKS and company.

Our first remark upon this Letter is the undoubting security and apparent habitual complacency, with which the writers assert their conviction, that the New England Calvinism is "inconsistent," with what?—With "the standards of the Presbyterian churches!"—It appears to be implied, as a thing scarcely credible, and if credible, highly criminal, that the Congregationalists of New England should presume to take the Bible as the standard of their religious sentiments, without also taking "the standards of the Presbyterian churches!"

We should be astonished, were we not so accustomed to it, to find how far these advocates of supplements to the Bible have deluded themselves, in regard to the gospel in its simplicity, by their reiterated and exclusive pretensions to orthodoxy and evangelical purity. They speak, as we should suppose men would speak, who had never had occasion, but in their skirmishes from the pulpit with a supposed antagonist, dressed and armed to their liking, to try their strength with others. It is probable that they may hereafter find occasion for a more serious contest, not only with the Hopkinsians already among them, but with many more preparing for the field, and about to penetrate into their camp.

Our second remark is upon the characteristic intolerance, and bold denunciation of even fellow Calvinists, in the concluding sentence:—"Such sentiments, in whatever connexion they may be taught, by whatever names they may be recommended, ought to be exposed and *reprobated in the most decided manner.*"

"In whatever *connexion* they may be taught," we should think, is a *warning* to some Andoverians, now settled in New-York, and in the *connexion* of the Presbyterian churches, whose standards are so often introduced before the Hopkinsians *in terrorem*. We shall have more to say of this by and by. The warning may lead them to examine themselves, to know if they are prepared to suffer as martyrs on the altar of Presbyterian Calvinism.

## 4. DR. MASON'S Letter.

There are indeed three other names attached to it, but the



hand of the principal is too clearly marked to be mistaken for either of the subordinates.

We trust that we feel a proper regard for the reputation of every man, and certainly so long as he regards it himself. If we did not, Dr. Mason is the last person who has the right to accuse us. On the score of his own tenderness toward the reputation and feelings of others, he has nothing to say, even if we were to charge him, as he has charged his fellow Christians, with the crime of deliberately aiming at the destruction of souls. In many instances, he has set all decorum at defiance. He has broken out in the most violent philippics, not against the prostitution of talents, not against open immorality or acknowledged depravity, not even against men of doubtful worth, but against some of the most intelligent and honest disciples of Christ; and this, merely because they differ from him in sentiments, which he chooses to make fundamental, and have dared to exercise the common right of publishing a new translation of the Christian scriptures.\*

\* We give the following to enable those, unacquainted with Dr. Mason's character, to judge, in some degree, of the correctness of our remarks. He has himself said—that our present "excellent versions" of the Bible are "*undoubtedly susceptible of improvement.*" [Christian's Mag. vol. iii. No. 9, p. 506.] But when scholars and Christians, certainly not inferior to himself in any qualification of ability, piety, or candor, offered a new version, made with what they had a right to believe at least to be a part of this "*improvement,*" he at once denounced them as "*the Iscariot bands of professed Christianity.*" And because some good people in Boston thought it proper to reprint and read this version, he gives us to understand, that these "*Iscariot hands* are to be found on *both sides* of the Atlantic," and represents them as "*thrusting*" their version "*into the hands of the unlettered and the simple.*" The Doctor goes on, in a note overflowing with a Christian spirit, to call the New Version and a few comments "*a late most audacious attempt to explain away the whole gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.*" The mild language of this amiable disciple in regard to the good people of Boston was, that they were "*straining into the cup of salvation the distilled venom of Socinian blasphemy.*" This fatal draught," he says, "*is handed about with incessant assiduity, and put to the lips of the unthinking*"—for what purpose?—the charge of deliberate and intentional guilt is worth particular notice—it is, "*that they may sleep the sleep of death.*"

But the readers of the Christian's Magazine, a work whose spirit is so perfectly accordant with the title, need not be frightened at words of "*such,*"

Of Dr. Mason's public character as a military theologian, both writer and preacher, we would speak without disguise and without asperity. If we are not quite unacquainted with his spirit, he would, as a matter of course, consider it irony, if we were to ascribe to him some of the distinguishing graces of that gospel, which he professes to teach, especially humility, meekness, docility, and forbearance. We would not mistake coarseness for strength; confidence for truth; bold assertion in criticism for a sure foundation of learning; nor the talent of giving the caricature of an opponent, at which the multitude gape with mingled wonder and delight, for victory in the argument. But making every just exception, we will still pay to Dr. Mason the tribute of our respect for his talents and attainments. We allow him to be the most vigorous, in our country, among the gladiators of the Genevan school; or, if it be an act of more acceptable homage, to be Calvinism personified in a Colossus of iron and brass. The parallel between him and his master, if not minutely perfect in doctrines, is so in every important point of character; in pride of intellect; in severity of temper; in the contempt of foes, if not also of friends; in rude and sweeping denunciations of all who differ from him in sentiment; in ability to rise to the control of an institution, uniting letters, theology, and discipline, as the source of future conquests in the church militant; in the fear he scatters among the clergy about him; in the narrowness and intolerance of his creed; in unbending decision and perseverance; and in the influence which his genius, station, and writings will probably give to his name after death.

Dr. Mason is *avowedly* at the head of a Theological School, and *in fact* at the head, as we suppose, of the first college in

deep toned horror" [Christian's Mag. vol. I. p. 96.] about the Bostonians. For Dr. Mason himself, as well as others of the same tender conscience and jealous consistency of character, when that part of Christianity, which is said to be "full of mercy and good fruits," is to be addressed for public charities to supply their losses, to relieve the sufferings of the human family, or to aid literary and religious institutions for the promotion of human virtue, piety, and hope, appears to be well satisfied that something else is to be found among these wicked people of Boston, beside a distillery of Socinian blasphemy.

the powerful state of New York. He stands first among a body of Presbyterians, both in means and activity not to be despised. His genius is the object of idolatry and dread, beyond the extensive circle of his personal intercourse. We do not wish to see him hereafter overcome, nor are we in much apprehension of this event, by either section of the Presbyterians; by the rich and powerful Episcopalians; or by the zealous and active Andoverians. His position, character, and consequences are important in the system of checks and balances, which we are soon to exhibit, between religious parties. His Letter now claims our attention.

"As truth is eternal, and the way of salvation but one, the very pretence of great 'improvements' in the body of Christian theology, is a legitimate cause of suspicion, and ought to put Christians on their guard. For the 'new light,' which men are apt to boast, not unfrequently proves to be merely a new edition of old darkness."

We are glad to see the stale sophism, which the Hopkinsians are so very fond of using against others, used here against themselves. "*Truth is eternal.*" No doubt. But is it all discovered at once, or are our discoveries of it progressive? Does the human mind start from the point of absolute ignorance, and pass through *successive* "improvements" to the height of a Locke or Newton here, and then enter upon an infinite progression hereafter? or has it at once the intuitive and unchanging perceptions of the divine mind? Supposing the former, which Dr. Mason will hardly dare to deny, how stands his argument?

"Truth is eternal;" our discoveries of it are progressive; therefore we must never look for great "improvements" in our knowledge of it.

We should indeed have expected just the opposite conclusion; and we fear our readers will find themselves under the same error. We ask them not to call in question our eulogy upon the Doctor's talents, for he *can* reason, though he *does not* here.

"The way of salvation is but one." True: But may it not have travellers of all ages, pursuits, and every variety of "improvement?"

ments?" May not some have but just started in it, and, through want of knowledge or of experience, be in danger of mistaking the many ways which lead out of it, while others have proceeded far in the journey, and may leave, from their knowledge and experience, many useful and valuable instructions recorded along the way, for the use of those who come after them? May not some from a variety of causes, perhaps caprice, perhaps the love of singularity, perhaps out of deference to the prejudices of a party, and perhaps from weak eyes, which cannot bear the sun, choose to travel by moon-light, and halt in the day? May there not be many roads which lead into the great "way of salvation" from the various points where the travellers set out? May not some of these be straight and others crooked; some with guides and others without; some through a wilderness, and others through a cultivated country; some through burning sands, and others along refreshing streams, adorned with flowers?

*If we are right, our opponents are wrong: for the "way of salvation is but one."* This mode of arguing is so favorite a one with the Hopkinsians, and has done such execution among the simple of the flock, that we are willing to see it retorted upon them from the mouth of orthodoxy itself. We hope they will use it with the necessary qualifications hereafter.

"The very pretence of great 'improvements' in the body of Christian theology is a legitimate cause of suspicion." The Hopkinsians answer—we lay no claim to making great improvements upon Christian theology itself, but upon the explanations, erroneous views, and imperfect knowledge of that theology. This is enough for Dr. Mason. It is also enough for us to use in our turn against the Hopkinsians, when they employ the same sophism against *our* "improvements."

Apply now this flourish of the Reverend President of a Theological School and Provost of Columbia college to the successive "improvements" in the Bible itself. Were the laws and institutions of Moses "*improvements*?" Were the revelations of the prophets "*improvements*?" Were the instructions, example, and institutions of Jesus "*improvements*?" If it be said, the canon of scripture is closed, and the case now altered, we

ask then, have there been no "improvements" in criticism and interpretation in modern times? Have there been no corruptions of Christianity? Did Rome give us nothing but the pure truth of the gospel? Were the results of the Reformation "improvements?" Were the writings of Calvin "improvements" (Dr. Mason being judge) upon the body of Christian theology, as it was commonly received before? Were the decisions of the Westminster Assembly "improvements?" Is the present common translation of the Bible an "improvement" upon the translations before it? Have the labors of Mill, Wetstein, and Griesbach produced "improvements" upon the received text? And can we have no further "improvements?" Is the human mind exhausted? Are all the sources of biblical and ethical knowledge drained? Can talents, study, candor, and free inquiry do no more?

Only fancy Dr. Mason in the papal chair, if such a fancy can be associated with the idea of so consistent and meek a Protestant, and bring Dr. Spring before him as Calvin, how admirably would this argument against "the very pretence of great improvements in the body of Christian theology" still suit the former in his new character? Or, place Dr. Spring at Andover, with the statute in his hand for quinquennial subscription to his own narrow creed, and offer Dr. Mason as a candidate for a professorship, with his discoveries that the Andover Calvinism is "in some very material points another gospel indeed," and with his "improvements" from New York upon the body of Christian theology as now taught by the descendants of the pilgrims, and how ingenious and convenient would be the argument still?

A man who dogmatizes much is very liable to contradict himself. It is not always that Dr. Mason has had such a dread of innovation as at present. The reader may be amused by comparing with what seem to be his present opinions, the following passage, taken from one of his writings, in which somewhat more manly sentiments are expressed; and those whom he addresses are exhorted to aim at continual improvement in religious knowledge and practice.—"But, brethren, we should prove ourselves unworthy of such an ancestry, if, under the

pretext of prizing *their* attainments, we become indifferent about our *own*; if we lose their spirit, while we boast of their names: much more, if, falling short of their excellence, we do not endeavour to regain and surpass it. Magnanimous men! they not only cherished their light, but applied it to expose delusion, and to explore the paths of forgotten truth. Far from being satisfied with previous reformation, they inquired if any corruption had been retained; any error unnoticed; any duty overlooked; and exerted themselves to supply the defect, both by condemning what was wrong, and by performing what was right. No favorite prepossessions, no inveterate habits, either appalled their courage or paralyzed their efforts." . . . "No opinion can be more dishonorable or dangerous than this, that reformation being already achieved, we have nothing to do but to tread quietly on in the track of precedent. Godliness is not the nursling of tradition. If we have no better reason for our sentiments and practice, than that they were the sentiments and practice of our fathers before us, our religion is not a rational, but a mechanical service. Christianity allows no implicit faith, except in the Divine testimony. It is not enough that a point of doctrine, or worship, has the sanction of venerable names, and ancient custom: these may command respect, but can neither obligate conscience, nor relieve us from the trouble of examining for ourselves; because there is no believing by proxy."\*

We return to Dr. Mason's letter.

"The first approaches of error, silent, subtle, and insidious, rarely excite alarm; and when her progress is felt, her *power* has become *great*, and may be *fatal*. Therefore they who are 'set for the defence of the gospel,' ought to *watch her steps*, *expose her designs*, and not to wait till, of her own accord, she *throw off her mask*. This is pre-eminently their duty, at the present hour, in the city of New York. No place on the continent has been so long happy in *doctrinal concord* among all denominations termed evangelical. This their auspicious unity has been *recently invaded*; and invaded by *no other means* than the introduction of *Hopkinsian principles*, or what are general-

\* Letters on Frequent Communion—published in a collection of tracts entitled, *First Ripe Fruits*. London, 1803, 12mo.

ly recognised as such. It is therefore of importance that Christians should know *what these principles are*, and how far they agree or disagree with the faith once delivered to the saints."

This we understand to be a bold and undisguised attack upon the Reverend Messrs. Spring and Strong, two New England men, and Andoverians, not long since settled over Presbyterian churches in the city of New York, and who have taken the liberty to preach their sentiments, by which the Provost is greatly disturbed—a liberty, the public know, that he never allows himself either in speaking or writing. The extract is also intended probably as a side blow and warning to the Rev. Dr. Millar, who has not subscribed any of these letters; who is heretical enough not to believe all "new light to be merely a new edition of old darkness;" and who is said to be in the transition-state from Presbyterian to Andoverian Calvinism.

"They who are set for the defence of the gospel," &c. The evident object of this warning is the same with the great object of the "Contrast" itself, namely, to lead the "Ecclesiastical Judiciatories of the Church, to which they belong,"\* to investigate, and if need be, to admonish, suspend, and to excommunicate the Andoverians already among them, and to adopt suitable precautions against the multiplication of their number before their power shall become "great" and "fatal," and "of their own accord" they "throw off the mask." Upon the jealousies, rival interests, and opposition here exhibited, we shall remark in the proper place.—"*Doctrinal concord.*" This phrase is well chosen to describe the agreement between some half a dozen kinds of self-styled evangelical sects in the city of New York. Their different connexions, interests, and mutual jealousies do not allow much of a *concord of love*, which was the old fashioned unity of Christians.

One article of wholesome discipline, which the Doctor administers to the Hopkinsians in his Letter, is the charging them, as they constantly charge others, with *preaching another gospel*. To prevent his eastern rivals from mistaking the importance of the points of difference, he "demolishes cavil," by putting on record his deliberate conviction of the nature of

\* Contrast, p. viii.

Hopkinsian Calvinism:" "We nothing doubt that upon sober research they will find it to be, *in some very material points*, 'another gospel' indeed."

5. The Letter of DR. LIVINGSTON, President of the College of New Brunswick.

Although the charge is not made *directly*, yet the President would consider it as no compliment to our own understandings, or to the arrangement of his ideas and expressions, were we not to perceive the charge made *in fact*, that the Hopkinsians not only offer a new light which is merely an edition of old darkness, but that they themselves are a new edition of the old Gnostics; that they attempt "to blend their heterogeneous principles with revealed religion, and accommodate the pure, simple, and sublime doctrines of the Son of God to the tenets of their contemptible philosophy;" that they "speak of the Most High with a familiar and disgusting irreverence;" and that they "deduce consequences from the premises they have adopted, which are shocking and impious, and which tend not only to render the scriptures unintelligible, but Christianity itself *incredible and detestable*." The force of this will not be lost in the mind of any attentive reader under the following thin disguise. "To what philosophy instead of the Bible they have submitted, or to what family they are related, whose doctrines you have exhibited in your Contrast, I do not know." Then pursuing them without mercy, he says—"You have established the fact, that by whatever name or title they may be distinguished, *they certainly are not Calvinists*." The three great titles of these people are, Edwardians, Hopkinsians, and Andoverians. The two former are fast merging in the latter, which is often denounced, by the thorough Presbyterians, as the name of the New England, or eastern Calvinists. The Doctor goes on:—"It is time they were known, *and a line of distinction drawn*." He calls upon the "watchmen on the walls of Zion," no doubt Presbyterian watchmen, "to descry the approaching danger, and *give a speedy warning*." He very plainly declares, that even if an angel from heaven should be a Hopkinsian, it would be their duty "*to denounce and resist him*." The "Confessions of Faith;" the "form of sound words," not the gospel, but the



"standards of the Reformed Churches," again pass in review, and are again appealed to, as trespassed against by Hopkinsian theology.

After all these pointed denunciations against you, by whatever title you wish to be called, Hopkinsians, Andoverians, or New England Calvinists, attend the Presbyterian councils with what appetite you may. You who are so rigid in your terms of communion, and whose consciences are frightened at such slight differences of sentiment, overcome, if you can, for the love of combination and power, the mountains of error between you. If you choose not to notice the school-boy switch of the preacher of the alms-house, you can hardly remain insensible to the bludgeons of such a host of orthodox assailants, of all ranks and of all nations;—Presidents, Provosts, Professors, and Doctors; English, Irish, Dutch, and Scotch.

You are to be known; a line of distinction is to be drawn against you; you are not to be fostered till you get a fatal power in the Presbyterian churches, and then throw off the mask of your own accord; you are to be exposed immediately, and reprobated in the most decided manner; you are afraid of the light, preaching another gospel; you have revived the old Gnostic heresy of being in general, of abstract beauty, of disinterested love, and the best of all possible worlds; your philosophy is contemptible; your consequences from your premises are shocking and impious; you speak with a familiar and disgusting irreverence of the Most High; you are not only guilty of nonsense and impiety, but you render Christianity itself incredible and detestable; you are the fathers of future infidelity and atheism; and though you should come in the form of angels from heaven, you must be denounced and resisted!

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To the Letters, before we draw our general conclusions, and give a statement of parties, we wish to add, as illustrative of the same spirit and designs, an extract from a late publication\* of the Rev. Dr. Green, late of Philadelphia, now President

\* Advice and exhortation to the people of the second Presbyterian Congregation in Philadelphia, on resigning the pastoral charge of that Congregation. By Ashbel Green, D. D. Philadelphia, 1812.

of Princeton College in New Jersey. His advice to his people on leaving them was not delivered from the pulpit, but published from the press, under circumstances of great solemnity and responsibility. Haste or inadvertency he cannot, and probably wishes not to plead in excuse for any sentiment contained in it. The extract is as follows:—

“Before I dismiss this topic, there is one thing more which I must by no means omit. It is, that nothing will more contribute to your ‘being at peace among yourselves,’ both when vacant and at other times, than keeping *strictly* to the principles and forms of the Presbyterian church, *as laid down in our public standards of doctrine and government.* By these standards try carefully all doctrines, and conduct scrupulously all your proceedings.”\*

Bold and unwarrantable as is this sentiment for a Protestant divine, he goes on to anticipate the shock which some minds might feel at this return to the great principle of popery, and seems determined that no one shall find any consolation in ambiguity of meaning. “Esteem it no hardship, or oppression,” he says, “esteem it as an *unspeakable privilege*, that these standards *are given* for your *direction and control.*”

“These standards:” What are they? The scriptures? No. The oral explanations of Christ or his apostles, handed down by authentic tradition to regulate the interpretation of the written word? No. These belong to the see of Rome, not to the see of Philadelphia. Do these standards claim high antiquity, and thus demand our reverence? No. They were originally made about the middle of the seventeenth century by that assembly of *rational and unprejudiced* divines, who met at Westminster; they were “amended and ratified”† by equally authorized and infallible interpreters of scripture, “the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church,” in the United States, “at their sessions in May 1805.” The last “improvements” upon these standards, which, being perfect at first, must now be something more than perfect, claim the high antiquity of *eight years!* When they get into their *teens*, perhaps they may find room to be “amended and ratified” again. It seems that the “improvements” made at Andover have already cut off as apocryphal

\* Page 6.

† Constitution of Pres. Chh. &c. Philadelphia, 1806.

the "Confession of Faith," and the "Larger Catechism," leaving only the "Shorter Catechism," as canonical, and this as not genuine without such explanations as make it speak a different meaning from that of the framers.

That wicked, popish Council of Trent never dared to impose quite so bold a claim upon the people's faith, but *plead* the authority and antiquity of their *traditions* even from Christ and the Apostles. They say—"The truth and discipline of the Catholic church are comprehended both in the sacred books and in the *traditions, which have been received from the mouth of Jesus Christ himself, or of his Apostles*, and have been preserved and transmitted to us by an uninterrupted train and succession."

When a man under the circumstances of Dr. Green, and in the maturity of his mind, formally sets up another standard of faith than the Bible, or a standard additional to that, and this is all the papists do, however strongly he may assert that the two harmonize, it is time for protestants to awake, to speak plainly and boldly, and to act also, in defence of their only written standard of faith, the Bible. It is time to apply the rebuke, which Christ gave to the Scribes and Pharisees:—"Thus have ye made the *commandment of God* of none effect by your *traditions*." "In vain do they worship me, *teaching for doctrines the commandments of men*."\*

"These standards *are given* for your *direction and control*." This language really looks like intending something more than the inspiration of *superintendency*, and even to hint at the inspiration of *suggestion*. "*Are given*:" why did he not say, *we voted them in for our own convenience*; and not frighten the minds of his poor flock with this mystical impression of something more than human authority? "*Direction and control*:" We hope his people will have sufficiently the spirit of Christians to answer him, we will use them so long and so far only as we like them, and as they aid regularity in our public proceedings; we will never yield our *faith* to their *authority*; we will try them, as we are bound to try your sermon, and all your sermons, by the Bible; we will give all due weight to their ar-

\* Matthew, xv.

guments and their evidence; but to use them for the purpose you teach us would be contempt and disobedience to the "*direction and control*" of him only, who is our Master in the Church, and whose words only, by himself or his apostles, "*are given*" for this purpose.

The President says in a note—"I would recommend that every family in the congregation *make it a point of Christian duty to keep a copy of our Confession of Faith,*" &c.—Whatever subordinate uses obedience to this recommendation might serve, in promoting regularity in the public proceedings of the Presbyterian churches; yet for the purposes and with the spirit of the advice, we consider it unlawful for Dr. Green's late people to obey his direction, and we have no hesitation in declaring it to be, in our view, though probably not in his own, one of the most undisguised attempts at corrupting the rule of Christian faith, that we have ever seen in so many words from the pen of any Protestant divine in our country. Even at new translations, and at one of the New Testament, which the Eclectic Review, a very respectable Calvinistic work in England, recommended as a tolerable substitute for Griesbach, Dr. Mason cries out "*amended Bibles*"—*amended Bibles*; "*Timeo Danaos*."—But Dr. Green goes further, and at least recommends a *supplement*, if not a *substitution*, for the Bible. If he does not forbid us to bring our old Bibles with us for communion, he at least implies that we shall not be received as sound, unless we bring also the Westminster Confession as "*amended*."

We now close our examination of the Letters and the extract from Dr. Green. A few important inferences from them we will suggest, and then proceed to our view of religious parties.

1. We here see an unequivocal violation of the spirit of the following instructions from our Lord's own mouth. "Be not ye called Rabbi; for one is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren. And call no man Father on earth; for one is your Father, who is in heaven. *Neither be ye called Masters, for one is your Master, even Christ.*"\*

"One is your Master, even Christ." Upon this Doddridge

\* Matthew xxiii. 8—10.

observes:—"It is remarkable that this occurs twice in the very same words. Our Lord knew how requisite it would be to attend to it; and how ready even his Ministers would be to forget it."

The Commentator was not mistaken. The names of not a few ministers are connected with this review, who either forget or disregard better "advice and exhortation," as to the rule of faith, than were given to the second Presbyterian congregation in Philadelphia. They talk of "the doctrines of Calvinism," as they ought to talk of the doctrines of Christ only: they speak of inconsistency with these, as they ought to speak only of inconsistency with the gospel: they make Calvin a "Master," as they should make no uninspired man: and they introduce, as tests of faith, standards avowedly conformed to his sentiments.

2. It is melancholy indeed that the decisions of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, in what was, in some respects, one of the most tumultuous, fanatical, and disgraceful periods of English history, should now be made the standard of faith with any body of Christians in this land of religious freedom; and that non-conformity to these should be stigmatized as criminal heresy. Our readers may turn to the Cyclopædia as a convenient book of reference, and see that "this Assembly consisted of one hundred and twenty one divines and thirty laymen, celebrated in their party for piety and learning." They sat between five and six years; and after "being changed into a committee for the examination of such ministers as presented themselves for ordination or induction into livings, broke up without any formal dissolution, when the long parliament was turned out of the house by Oliver Cromwell." "The several parties in this Assembly were composed of Presbyterians, Erastians,\* and Independents." They

\* "The Erastians formed a party in the Assembly of Divines in 1643, and the chief leaders of it were Dr. Lightfoot, Mr. Colman, Mr. Selden, and Mr. Whitlock: and in the House of Commons there were beside Selden and Whitlock, Oliver St. John, Esq. Sir Thomas Widdrington, John Crew, Esq. Sir John Hipsley, and others of distinguished reputation." *Rees' Cyclopædia.*

settled the question of the *strict* rights of Presbyterian government; and then the Independents and Erastians, among whom were their most distinguished men, particularly Lightfoot and Selden among the Erastians, deserted them. Baxter says, the assembly was composed of men of great learning and piety; but "Lord Churton says, that about twenty of them were revered and worthy persons, and Episcopal in their judgments; but as to the remainder, they were but pretenders to divinity; some were infamous in their lives and conversations, and most of them of very mean parts and learning, if not of scandalous ignorance, and of no other reputation than of malice towards the Church of England." Both these accounts are probably exaggerated by the feelings of party; but Neal, who was desirous of giving to the assembly all justifiable praise at least, allows that "their sentiments in divinity were in many instances *as narrow and controversial*;" that they had "a persecuting zeal in religion;" and that "they grasped at conciliar power or jurisdiction over the consciences of men." It was indeed a fine age and a fine assembly to establish a rule of faith for all succeeding generations, who should be admitted to the favor and communion of the self-sected Evangelical and orthodox! It is too gross an inspection on the public to be told, that by the votes of such a body at such a time they must "try carefully all doctrines?" (1)

3. In the opposition between the Presbyterian and New England Calvinists, and in the spirit and denunciations of the Bishops, we have an interesting and practical comment upon the mistakes, resulting from the attempt to produce uniformity of faith by the substitution of human creeds for the Bible... The parties, now brought before the public with all their jealousies, different confessions, rival treasures, and the charge of one party upon the other of preaching "for some *very material* points another gospel indeed," are equally passionate in claiming and vindicating the title of Calvinist; they equally quote their Master's works for authority in attack or defence; they make an equal parade of their attachment to the great doctrines of the Reformation; and they unite in demanding subscription to the Assembly's Shorter Catechism in order to admission into the pale and immunities of orthodoxy; a catechism, which Dr. Ma-

one, had he happened to be born an Arminian instead of a Calvinist, would probably, in his own gentle manner, have called the distilled essence of Calvinistic blasphemy. But, with all their professions and promises, with all their boasted guards and purity, the creed makers and creed defenders are continually dividing and quarrelling among themselves; and nothing appears to unite them at any time, but opposition to that class of Christians, who make the Bible the only standard of faith which they will subscribe.

Council multiplies upon council; ecumenical upon ecumenical; epistles accumulate upon epistles; till the gospel and the name of Christ are forgotten in the turbulent family of religious passions and prejudices; till our ears are assailed and fatigued with the polemical clamor of the old Calvinists and the new; the moderate or apurians Calvinists; the orthodox and consistent Calvinists;\* the genuine and thorough Calvinists; the Hoptonian or Andoverian Calvinists; the Presbyterian Calvinists; the Eastern and Southern Calvinists; and, we are now compelled to add, as far as the authors of the *Lectures* are concerned, jealous, exclusive, and contentious Calvinists.

The injuries produced by creeds supported by authority, and to which subscription is required, are innumerable. They are the flood gates of corruptions in Christianity; they are made the basis of ambitious and dangerous combinations; they either introduce jesuitical casuistry to justify subscription to what is not heartily believed, or they make their advocates pervert whatever they read and see, till it conforms to the opinions on which they have already predetermined; they destroy love between Christians; by calling into action the worst passions, under the flattering pretence of being *first pure, then peaceable*, and of contending earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints; they tend to arrest the progress of the mind in all the branches of knowledge, not only by perverting its attainments, but by *narrowing* all truth, both in nature and revelation, to a few abstract definitions of sectarian partizans; they encourage sloth in ministers, by making their public discourses the mere singing of changes upon the definitions of their respective sects;

\* *Confession, &c. of Aquinas*, p. 64.

they identify the abuses of Christianity with the religion itself, till they make infidels of the high, and the slaves of superstition or apathy of the low; they put human authority in the place of divine, and earthly folly in the place of heavenly wisdom.

4. In these Letters we have a specimen of the violence with which religious parties may quarrel, whose creeds are mutually narrow and intolerant, although, in the view of intelligent and uninterested spectators, the points of difference may be of no essential importance. When a religious combination is to be formed for ecclesiastical power, or fortified against the encroachments of rivals, the passions, and particularly the jealousies and fears of the people and inferior clergy, must be excited; small differences in sentiment must be magnified to fundamental errors; and some other name than Christian, and some other standard than the Bible, must be assumed as necessary to the success of the design. It is not the Christian spirit in full exercise, it is not a single regard to the influence of religion in making mankind good and happy, by which such combinations are formed, and the purposes of ecclesiastical combination are answered.

5. Finally: We wish our readers to mark the division here declared and recorded between the Presbyterian and New England Calvinists. We do not rejoice in any divisions or contentions among Christians, as such; and we do not suppose any high degree of virtue necessary to justify this declaration: But we rejoice in the good which God is perpetually bringing out of this, as well as every other evil. The rival interests, jealousies, conflicting designs, and increasing means of the parties, are of consequence, as producing mutual checks upon each other, and tending to the promotion of free inquiry. The Presbyterian Calvinists have recorded, explicitly and fully, their denunciations against the New England Calvinists.\* We

\* To show that the great object of the Contrast and the Recommendations of it is to keep the New England Calvinists out of the Presbyterian churches, take the following extracts from the work itself, p. 278.

"When any individual is admitted to the Presbyterian church in the United States, he either professes or tacitly consents *alorsque* to receive



shall soon see that the General Assembly, as a body, are also pledged in their Theological Seminary to the same opposition to the principles of Andover, and that the two institutions can never unite their forces without one or the other changes its creed, or both come back to true Protestant ground, the Bible. Then indeed we should be happy to see them united, and to unite with them ourselves.

This division in form; and now made public in such censorious and pointed language, is of far more consequence to the interests of truth, than a superficial observation would suggest or warrant one to conclude. The spirit of it has been indeed well understood by those who have paid particular attention to the progress of *religious combinations* among us, especially for a few years past. But the attention of the great body even of intelligent people has not been explicitly and clearly directed to this subject, and the dangers, duties, and hopes, connected with it. We shall therefore now call the public mind to a sketch of the religious parties in our country, with a view to their checks and balances, and their effect upon rational and catholic Christianity.

Our remarks will be made upon the following topics:—

#### I. Ecclesiastical Bodies in form.

and adopt the Confession of Faith of this church, as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures.' It has been proved in the preceding pages, that the system of Hopkinsianism is *repugnant* to this Confession of Faith. This conclusion therefore irresistably follows, that no person, who is fully convinced of the truth of this system, or who is not a Calvinist in sentiment, can conscientiously unite himself to the Presbyterian church, by assent to its Confession of Faith."

"It is a just conclusion also, that persons, who are known to profess doctrines utterly repugnant to these standards, cannot with propriety be received by the rulers of these ecclesiastical societies. *To admit any one, who is known to be a Hopkinsian, is nothing less than countenance as a false profession.*"

"The Presbyterian church should take warning; for a family or city, divided against itself, cannot stand."

The Contrast, p. 279, speaking of some Calvinistic platforms, says—"The *Hopkinsians*, Sabellians, Arians, and Socinians, cannot be expected to like them."—"Any person, who maintains *either of these heresies*, has departed from the faith of the pious fathers of New England."

II. Combinations of Clergymen and Laymen in missionary and other societies.

III. Theological Schools.

IV. The religious influence exerted upon, or by, Literary Institutions.

V. The present state of sects.

VI. Religious Periodical Publications.

VII. The correction which abuses commonly carry with them, where free inquiry can be preserved.

I. Ecclesiastical Bodies in form.

1. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian church. This is probably the most powerful single ecclesiastical body in the United States. Its jurisdiction spreads over an immense territory, whose population is rapidly increasing, a large part of which acknowledges the authority of the General Assembly. Its operations are every year becoming more systematic and efficient. The influence of the Assembly as a body, we shall see, when we come to their Theological Seminary, must be strictly and exclusively devoted to the defence and support of Presbyterian Calvinism, as distinguished from and opposed to Andoverian Calvinism.

2. The General Associations of New England. No one of these bodies represents the opinions of so many people as the General Assembly does, but united they represent the opinions of more. There are very few, if any, among them, who would agree with the New York, or Presbyterian Calvinists, in their increased strictness in insisting on the whole of the Confession of Faith, the Catechisms, &c. The Calvinism of Andover and that of the General Associations may safely be considered as essentially the same. They are about equally offended with the attack made upon them by the Presbyterians, and are not at all inclined to yield their "improvements" because of the denunciations against them. The Andoverian Calvinism is, without a question, not Presbyterian Calvinism; and, with as little doubt, it is what the authors of the Letters call Hopkinsianism. That the General Assembly and General Associations cannot, since the establishment of the two Theological Seminaries at Princeton and Andover, combine on the Ca-

als of the same human standards, we shall show under the head of Theological Schools. It is enough to say at present, that the causes are now rendered very certain to prevent New England principles and discipline from prevailing under the jurisdiction of the General Assembly, and to prevent Presbyterian principles and discipline from getting much into New England. The General Associations, so long as they continue united, will be able to hold the General Assembly in check, and cause their power to be respected, especially as the Andoverians are; as is well known, the most zealous and indefatigable propagandists in our country.

3. The General Synod of the Reformed Dutch Church. This is a considerably powerful body of Presbyterians, not acting in concert with the General Assembly, nor with any other circle of Presbyterians. Their churches are principally in New Jersey and New York. The history of them in the *Christian's Magazine* shows what divisions they have had to contend with heretofore; how they have become united; with what terror the idea of losing "the existence of the Reformed Dutch Church" strikes their minds; and how much they are delighted with their "new and auspicious era."<sup>2</sup> This history of the Dutch Presbyterian connexion is well adapted, by recounting old contentions and sorrows, to increase the attachment of its members, and to prevent an amalgamation with the General Assembly. This has been several times attempted, by that body, with a very sagacious policy, but without success.—"The existence of the Reformed Dutch Church in America," so emphatically expressed, is not likely to be destroyed, as the leaders of it very well know it certainly would be, by such an amalgamation, especially since the zeal and prosperity, with which their Theological School at New Brunswick is conducted, have given them so much hope. Their standards also, however near they come to those of the General Assembly in doctrine, are still different sets of human compositions, and will always be a bar to union.

4. The General Synod of the Associate Reformed Church. This is another connexion of Presbyterians, not acting in con-

<sup>2</sup> *Christian's Magazine*, vol. II. p. 372.

cert with either of the bodies already mentioned. Dr. Mason is at the head of their Theological School, which is placed in the city of New York. The number of those under its government is not so great as that of the Reformed Dutch Church; but they are zealously attached to the interests of their connexion; they are not dismayed by difficulties; they are active and persevering in their efforts; and they are a check upon the ambition of the General Assembly, which we wish not, and expect not, to see removed. They have provided systematical and powerful causes for the preservation and extension of their influence as a sect.

5. The connexion of the German Calvinists. This connexion is strong in numbers and influence; does not act in concert with the General Assembly; but is a valuable check upon that body.

6. The connexion of the German Lutherans. This body is about equal to the last in number and influence; and is another valuable check upon the General Assembly.

7. The General Convention of the Episcopal Church. Although the Episcopal Church is not the best fitted to make proselytes among the common people, this body represents an extensive, powerful, and highly respectable portion of our population, and will always be a great and valuable check upon the Calvinistic combinations of our country. The liturgy and articles of the church, its ministers consider themselves as bound to defend; but its distinguished laymen in this country are and will be on the side of rational and catholic Christianity. Their church has ever been learned, and decidedly opposed to fanaticism.

8. The United Societies of the Methodist Episcopal Church. These are a very numerous and a very popular combination. They are all of the Wesleyan school in this country, Whitfield never having provided for the perpetuation of a sect, and leaving his fame to rest upon the record of his personal eloquence. They are all Arminians, zealous, active, and successful in their opposition to Calvinism. Their number we do not know; but Crowther says of their itinerant preachers in the United States—"These, I presume, will amount *at least* to 600.

What God hath wrought!"\* Dr. Morse states the number of ministers, within the bounds of the General Assembly of Presbyterians, in 1810, at 434.† It does not follow from this comparison of ministers that the Methodists are more numerous than the Presbyterians under the General Assembly; but it shows that the Methodists are very strong, and well prepared for an increase of power. Their success in England warrants the expectation that they will have great success here. Their doctrines, mode of instruction, and worship; their appeals to the passions; the gratification of the love of novelty, and the freeing of their members from the charge of a regular establishment by the change of ministers; their various kinds of conferences; and the system they have now given to all their operations, unite to produce a popularity and influence, which the Calvinists of the country must always dread, and never be able to subdue. This should be an article of felicitation with every wise and good man, who takes an enlarged and patriotic view of the state of religious parties, and marks the providence of God in thus raising up an effectual rival to the popular delusions of Calvinism. The Methodists have been, and must continue to be, a powerful check upon the ambition of the Calvinistic combination under the General Assembly.

9. The connexion of the Baptists. This sect forms an extensive and powerful ecclesiastical combination, the majority of whom are Calvinists, but who cannot, on account of their sharp contentions about the form and subjects of baptism, act in concert with either the Presbyterians or Andoverians. The system of the Baptists is by no means so well fitted for popularity and increase of power, as that of the Methodists. Their doctrines are more irrational; their account of the divine character more repulsive; and their appeal to the sympathies of our nature not so powerful. They will always however, where they are contiguous to one another, share with the Calvinists in the profits of those periods of passion, fear, and delusion, which are termed *awakenings*. This has repeatedly been the fact, and may be presumed to occur as often hereafter.

\* Crowther's *Portraiture of Methodism*, p. 85.

† Last edition of *Geography*, p. 188.

10. The connexion of the Quakers. These are quite a numerous and excellent class of Christians. Their system does not promise great popularity and influence in our country, or any where else; but they are not a little respectable for their good morals, kind affections, modest piety, and useful industry. They are and always must be opposed to the most popular forms of fanaticism.

There are some other sects, which have regular ecclesiastical bodies, as the Romanists, Moravians, Mennonists, Universalists, Shakers, &c. all of which multiply, in their several degrees, the checks and balances between religious parties. But we shall not go over them separately, the view we have already given being sufficient to furnish great encouragement to the advocates of free inquiry, and rational, catholic Christianity, as will appear more evident hereafter.

II. Combinations of Clergymen and Laymen in missionary and other societies.

These commonly are not, although some of them are, recognised as ecclesiastical bodies in form. The Missionary societies are probably of most consequence. But a variety of others exert a powerful influence in directing public opinion, such as societies for the distribution of religious books and tracts; societies for religious or general libraries; societies for charity to those only or chiefly of a given denomination and creed; societies to visit the sick for religious conversation particularly, and it may be to take the advantage of such a time to make proselytes; societies for prayer where multitudes are engaged in this solemn service, to produce what is commonly called a *revival*. Among the many good objects, which such societies no doubt propose and really seek, the purpose of gaining power and enlisting partizans is too often predominant in many of them. The Calvinists boast of their superior zeal in missionary and other societies connected with religion; and appear to make a demand upon our admiration for their disinterestedness, when we well know that at least a large part of their praise is the merit of seeing clearly and adopting vigorously the best policy to enlarge their respective parties. We rejoice in all the good, and this is con-

siderable, that they have done and intended. At present, the sectarians and the catholic Christians are pretty nearly balanced by their respective societies; but something more than this ought to be effected; catholic Christianity ought to have, as with proper effort it may have, a decided superiority in our country.

III. We come now to our most interesting article, Theological Schools.

It is but a few years since religious parties have been roused to vigorous exertions on the subject of Theological Seminaries distinct from our colleges. The policy is now so well understood, and so many seminaries of this kind are, or are about to be established, that no sect can consider its hopes as worth much without a school to educate and raise up defenders. And this is equally true in respect to catholic Christians as mere sectarians.

1. "The Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian church in the United States of America."

We begin with this, although it is of later date than that at Andover and some others. We wish to correct an impression too common on the public mind, that Andover is about to go on without any effectual opposition. Andover has checks upon it in abundance from every quarter, insomuch that its future rank among similar institutions in our country will probably be very different from what its friends now suppose.

We have a pamphlet now before us, entitled, "The Plan of a Theological Seminary, adopted by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, in their Session of May last, A. D. 1811; together with the measures taken by them to carry the Plan into effect." This Seminary, we understand, was established at Princeton, in connexion with that college, by a vote of the General Assembly in May 1812, according to the general conditions hereafter to be mentioned. As this institution is of great consequence in our inquiries after checks upon Andover, we shall now proceed to show that the same opposition to New England Calvinism, which we have found in the Letters, is jealously provided for

and established in this Institution. We have, thus a full knowledge of the future policy of the General Assembly.

The Plan says, of the objects of the Seminary, p. 4. "It is to form men for the Gospel ministry, who shall truly believe, and cordially love, and therefore endeavour to propagate and defend, in its *genuineness; simplicity, and fulness*, that system of religious belief and practice, which is set forth in the Confession of Faith, Catechisms, and Plan of Government and Discipline of the Presbyterian Church; and thus to perpetuate and extend the influence of true evangelical piety and gospel order."

In the pamphlet not a word is said about making the Bible the standard of faith, by which to try the Confession, should any teacher or student find it to need improvement. At page 10 it is asserted indeed, that the Bible is in harmony with the the Confession, but the latter is the standard throughout. "Genuineness," "simplicity," and "fulness" are words of a very different meaning from that convenient phrase "for substance," which New England subscribers have adopted in assenting to a creed which they do not fairly and fully believe. Men must not only subscribe or assent to the Confession "for substance," at Princeton, but "truly," "cordially," in its "genuineness, simplicity, and fulness." The *middle-ground* men, and thorough Andoverians, would here be equally rejected. After the mangling of the Westminster Confession at Andover, and the light given us in the Letters, we can have no doubt at whom these jealous provisions are aimed. The plain English is, *Andoverians, we know you, stand off, or be converted from your errors.*

P. 5. "It is to preserve the unity of our church by educating her ministers in an enlightened attachment, not only to the same doctrines, but to the same plan of government."

The Andoverians are heretical by this standard, both in "doctrines" and "plan of government." Hence they must not be permitted any longer to destroy "*the unity of our Church.*"

P. 10. "Every person, elected to a professorship in this Seminary, shall, on being inaugurated, solemnly subscribe to the Confession of Faith, Catechisms, and Form of Government of the Presbyterian Church, agreeably to the following



formula, viz.—‘In the presence of God, and of the directors of this Seminary, I do solemnly, and *ex animo*, adopt, receive, and subscribe the Confession of Faith and Catechisms of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *as the confession of my faith*; or, as a summary and just exhibition of that system of doctrine and religious belief, which is contained in Holy Scripture, and therein revealed by God to man for his salvation: and I do solemnly *ex animo* profess to receive the Form of Government of said Church, as agreeable to the inspired oracles. And I do solemnly promise and engage, not to inculcate, teach, or *insinuate* any thing which shall appear to me to contradict or contravene, *either directly or impliedly*, any thing taught in said Confession of Faith or Catechisms; nor to oppose any of the fundamental principles of Presbyterian Church government, while I shall continue a professor in this seminary.’ ”

Why all these guards? Why is all ambiguity, all chance for explanation, so jealously shut out? Why are the words “insinuate,” “directly or impliedly,” put into this oath of obedience to the decrees of the Westminster Divines?—For the same reason with the words in the former extract. The Andoverians begin to get into the Presbyterian Churches with their “new light,” and their “improvements,” and have alarmed the fears of the General Assembly. The reformed, amputated, and enlarged state of the Westminster creed, as received at Andover, is quite a different sort of Calvinism and orthodoxy from the standards at Princeton. The two can never meet, till one shall yield, or both exchange their human compositions for the Word of God.

P. 12. “The faculty shall be empowered to *dismiss* from the seminary any student who shall prove *unsound in his religious sentiments*. ”

What an effect must this have upon a student’s inquiries after truth? A formal decree, from the ecclesiastical authority in the church he has chosen, that he is “*unsound in his religious sentiments*,” if he depart from the Confession, certainly must close his eyes to all “new light,” and be as effectual a bar to “improvements,” as the Provost himself could wish. This is

worse than Andover. There the charge, that freedom of inquiry was not indulged, has, if we mistake not, been anxiously repelled. Here the fact that it is prohibited appears in the very face of their laws. These Presbyterian gentlemen are driving back with full sail into the ignorance and bigotry of the dark ages.

P. 22. "The committee appointed to confer with the committee of the Trustees of New Jersey College, reported, among other things, that they deem it expedient, on the part of this Assembly, to appoint a committee, with ample powers to meet a committee on the part of the Trustees of the College of New Jersey, invested with similar powers, to frame the plan of a constitution for the Theological Seminary, containing the fundamental principles of a union with the Trustees of that College, and the Seminary already established by them, *which shall never be changed or altered without the mutual consent of both parties*: provided it should be deemed proper to locate the Assembly's Seminary at the same place with that of the College." P. 23. The several articles already quoted, the joint committee, in their proposed conference for a union, are "in no case to be permitted to contravene."

This union with the college and location of the Theological Seminary at Princeton, we understand, as before mentioned, were agreed upon last May. Put this in connexion with Dr. Smith's resignation, who is considered too rational and catholic for the purposes of this Seminary, and with Dr. Green's election to the presidency, whose sentiments we have already seen, and we can have no doubt how both the college and the seminary are to be governed hereafter. Some of the Andoverians have, we understand, heretofore calculated upon Dr. Green as a middle man, between Presbyterian and New England Calvinism, and supposed if he would not directly aid the introduction of the latter into the jurisdiction of the General Assembly, that at least he would not oppose it. But he and the school of the Assembly must now be the defenders of rigid and exclusive Presbyterianism, both in doctrines and government. Here then is a rival interest and a check to Andover, which there can be no hope of subduing, but which must, on the contrary,

be vigorously guarded in order that New England herself may be hereafter kept safe from the encroachments and conquests of the enemy. We wish neither of these Theological Schools success in their warfare. The public will be most benefited by the continuance of the contest without victory to either, till both come back from Calvin to Christ.

## 2. The Theological Seminary at Andover.

The Presbyterians are jealous of and opposed to this school for the following reasons:—

It is Congregational, or at most Consociational, and does not fit young men to be good Presbyterians.—It subscribes only the Shorter Catechism of their standards, leaving out the Confession of Faith, the Larger Catechism, and Form of Government.—It has so explained away even the Shorter Catechism, that subscription to the whole Andover creed does not amount to Presbyterian Calvinism. It has various passages in its creed, which add *positive* to the *negative* heresy already mentioned, and which allow the Hopkinsians to introduce all their peculiarities into the system of instruction.—Its students actually prove to be at variance with some of the favorite definitions of the Westminster Confession, and are found to be zealous, active Calvinists, according to the “new light” and the “improvements” of Edwards, West, Spring, and other such writers, who “in some very material points,” preach “another gospel indeed.”—It is under the decided management of Hopkinsian policy. The *middle-ground* men have either become cold toward it, or have floated with the popular tide.—It has sent some pupils already among the Presbyterians, who have alarmed and offended them: And it is preparing more.—It now forms the great standard of New England Calvinism, and must continue under the influence of those causes, which will forever prevent its becoming the instrument of the General Assembly, or of any other body of Presbyterians.—It allows a greater latitude of inquiry than its new rival, and will produce men better fitted for controversy.—It wants the control of the New England Churches, and in order to get this, it cannot flatter the ambition of the Presbyterians.—It denounces the Presbyterian practice in baptism, as loose

and unscriptural, and promotes disunion on this subject, whenever its disciples are settled among the Presbyterians—Both institutions wish for power in each other's bounds; are rival candidates for the favor and patronage of the Calvinistic public; and must feel, as the Presbyterians at least have abundantly shown, the spirit of competition.

The Andoverians, we have no doubt, desire at present to have as little said on the subject of this difference as possible. They are much less afraid that Presbyterianism will get into New England, than the Presbyterians are that they will bring their principles into the middle and southern states, since to do this there is no necessity to change the form of church government, and therefore success may be obtained more secretly. The present policy however at Andover, not to give publicity to the differences between themselves and the Presbyterians, must be temporary. For this there are several reasons.

The Andoverians are now bent on getting a system of ecclesiastical councils, or of church government, established in New England, which shall produce uniformity of sentiment in their creed, and union of operation against the catholic Christians. As there is a strong, hereditary jealousy of the honors of Presbyterianism in New England, it would undoubtedly aid the plan of Consociations, if the Andoverians should gradually allow the public to know the differences between them and the Presbyterians. It is a clear case, that the Presbyterian system cannot now be destroyed out of New England; and also that it cannot extensively be established in it. The ambition of Andover must be chiefly to govern within these limits; and the sooner she can get the plan of consociations established, the better it will be for her power.

The Andoverians have really the best side of the controversy. They have been more hardly pushed by the Anti-Calvinists than the Presbyterians have been, and have digested their system into a form more susceptible of defence. This therefore is a reason for making the differences more public. By acknowledging, explaining, and defending these differences, the Andoverians will perfectly secure the affection and unite the forces of the New England Calvinists. It may reasonably be

doubted, whether there be a Calvinist in New England, who would agree to the explanations of the New York Calvinists. There is indeed yet urged in New England a nominal distinction of Calvinist and Hopkinsian; but this distinction is fast merging in the general prevalence of a popular form of Hopkinsianism.

It is now the best time that Andover can ever expect to unite and bring New England under her power. The causes to promote free inquiry are every day multiplying, and delay at Andover can only increase the obstacles to her ambition.

We are satisfied therefore that the Andoverians, whatever caution and prudence they may use in the mode of operation, will steadily be preparing to defend and spread their sentiments in opposition to the Presbyterians wherever they find them, at home or abroad. They are not wanting in talent to discover their policy, nor are they tardy or timid in adopting the means of executing it. The two great schools, which we have just mentioned, must always hold each other in check. The causes must operate to produce this effect, whether they be laid before the public or not.

3. The Theological Seminary of the Reformed Dutch Church at New Brunswick.—This is under the care of Dr. Livingston, the writer of one of the Letters, and whose sentiments we have already seen. This school will indeed be in "doctrinal concord" with the Presbyterians, but will not aid the sectarian purposes of either party. It is jealous of, and a check upon both.

4. The Theological Seminary of the Associate Reformed Church, established at New York, under the care of Dr. Mason.

This will defend the doctrines of the Westminster Confession, but cannot act in concert with any other school or combination mentioned. It has no local interest to induce it to mediate between Andover and the General Assembly, and its Principal has already denounced the Eastern Calvinism. As a specimen of the character and spirit of this institution, take the following. "With his third year, the student shall commence the study of systematic theology; and as a basis for it, *he shall commit to memory*, during the two previous years, the

whole text of the *Confession of Faith and Larger Catechism*." The Synod directs—"That every student, on his admission, bind himself in a *written obligation*, to strict obedience, to diligence, to peace, and not to propagate, directly or indirectly, any opinion contrary to the known faith of the Associate Reformed Church." This known faith is the Confession, &c. It is also directed—"That students of other denominations be admitted into the Seminary upon the same terms as are exacted from those of the Associate Reformed Church."\* The influence of Dr. Mason's school, under all the advantages from its position and from his extensive and various connexions, must be great.

5. The Romanists and Methodists have Theological Seminaries in Maryland, the former of which is flourishing, but the state of the latter is not known to us.

The Episcopalians have not, as far as we know, any Theological Seminary in form, and at this we confess ourselves surprised, especially when we consider their wealth and advantages in New York.

The German Lutherans in 1807 had collected some funds and made some arrangements toward establishing a Theological Seminary. Whether this has since been done, we do not know. They have educated young men for the ministry under individual clergymen, appointed by the Synod for the purpose.

The Baptists are in expectation of a Theological Seminary, as connected with a College in the District of Maine, a grant for which was obtained the last session of the General Court in Massachusetts. This will be a powerful source of sectarian influence, but will aid much to balance religious parties.

6. The Theological Instruction at Cambridge.

Of this we gave some account in our first number.† We would add, that the advantages for students are much increased since that time. The Library is now kept open as a reading-room every day in the week except Sunday. Beside his lectures delivered on Tuesday afternoon, Professor Ware, somewhat more than a year since, commenced a course of lectures delivered on Saturday forenoon. These are on subjects of biblical criticism and interpretation. They are very highly

\* Christian's Magazine, vol. iii. p. 225, 226.

† Repoa. vol. i. p. 206.

esteemed by those who have heard them, and who are best capable of judging of their merit. They have been distinguished for great perspicuity of explanation, for great correctness in the statement of facts and principles, and of the very happy and full selection of examples by which these are illustrated. They are the result of extensive reading, of much thought, and of much study of the scriptures. As far as they have been delivered, they would, in our opinion, if published, form a work as valuable, for its size, to a theological student, as any work on the same subjects with which we are acquainted. These lectures are, we believe, an advantage which the theological instruction at Cambridge possesses over any other in our country; and one of no small importance, both on account of the information which they directly communicate, and on account of the taste, which they are adapted to produce for the studies of which they treat.

On the subject of a Theological Seminary in form and well endowed at Cambridge, we cannot say much. But we will at least express our strong conviction of the policy, practicability, and unparalleled utility, of such a seminary in this place, connected with this university, with the advantage of the best theological library on this side of the Atlantic, and upon the spot where, of all others, rational and catholic Christianity has the most patronage and the best hopes. Good men ought promptly to unite in this enterprise, so honorable to the best feelings and principles of our nature; so necessary to the cause of truth; so dear to our hopes for the welfare of succeeding generations; and so interwoven with the progress of the human mind in all that is worth obtaining here or hereafter. Upon the rich men of our metropolis we would urge this subject. We would say that no time better than the present can be expected for this purpose. As you value truth, virtue, piety, and happiness, speedily endow a Theological Seminary at Cambridge, as the great defender of the true Protestant cause, as the source of rational, catholic, and evangelical Christianity, and as the glory of your age, and the hope of posterity.

IV. The religious influence exerted upon, or by, Literary Institutions.

Under this head, our limits will allow us to give little more than a catalogue, and we shall only mention those which we think important in this relation.

We shall use the word CATHOLIC, for those colleges which adopt the Bible as the rule of faith without any supplement, and whose system of instruction favors rational and simple Christianity. Any man is a sectarian, whether Papist or Protestant, who insists upon others subscribing a creed, or standard, of his own or his party, beside the Bible, in order to Christian communion. The two titles, *catholic* and *sectarian*, are not to be applied according to the respective number of either class, but according to the general, or party standard of faith, which may be adopted. The general standard of faith, i. e. the standard which all Christians profess to receive, is the Bible. The party standard is the given creed of the sect. Those who have separated from the standard left by Christ and his apostles are sectarians. Those who hold to it are the true catholics.

Harvard University. Catholic.

Yale College. Andoverian.

Dartmouth College. This is divided, but the Andoverian party expect to prevail.

Williams College. Andoverian.

Brown University. A majority of the governors are Baptists.

Burlington College. Catholic.

Middlebury College. Andoverian.

Bowdoin College. Catholic.

Schenectady College. Liberally Presbyterian.

Columbia College. Of this College Dr. Mason is at present the Provost. Arminians and Calvinists are united in its government. But the Calvinists will probably prevail. Both however are opposed to Andover.

Hamilton College. Dr. Beckus, the new President, will endeavour to make this Andoverian.

Princeton College. Presbyterian.

Queen's College. Dutch Presbyterian.

Dickenson College. Probably Presbyterian.



The University of Pennsylvania. What religious influence it has is probably in favor of rational and catholic Christianity; since this is the natural effect of scientific attainments.

St. Mary's College. Papal.

Cokesbury College. Methodist.

The Institution at Annapolis we suppose to be under Episcopal influence.

William and Mary College. Probably Catholic in what religious influence it has.

The University of North Carolina. This being a state institution, we suppose its influence not to be sectarian.

Washington and Greenville Colleges. Probably Presbyterian.

The University of South Carolina. From the manner in which this is governed; by members chosen from all parts of the state, we have a right to presume that it is catholic in its religious influence.

The University of Georgia. At present, as Dr. Kollock is at the head, it is probably Presbyterian in its religious influence.

One remark we would make about all or nearly all the literary institutions in our country. They are dependent very much upon public opinion for their success; they are, by this consideration, led to impress religious sentiments upon the minds of the young men under their care with caution, in regard to any sectarian peculiarities, that parents of the different denominations may not be offended. So far as this consideration has influence, it produces catholicism. Upon the whole, we think the religious influence of the Literary Institutions of the country is well balanced, as it respects those, whose influence is sectarian, and such as will promote catholicism and free inquiry.

V. The present state of sects.

Under this head, our statement is chiefly derived from the last edition [i. e. 1812.] of Morse's Geography. If great accuracy were required, this account would not be uniformly sufficient, but we want only a general view. In some parts it is minute. But the real strength of parties must be always an article of conjecture, since the nominal is so different from the actual force,

Vermont. Congregational churches, 89: Presbyterian, 2: Baptists, 23: Episcopalian, 2: Universalist, 1: Friends, 1.

Maine. Congregationalists are most numerous, having 91 churches. There are many Baptists, Methodists, and a few Romanists.

New Hampshire. Chiefly Congregationalists, but a considerable number of Baptists, Universalists, Shakers, and others.

Massachusetts Proper. Congregationalists most numerous, being about 350 churches; next the Baptists; then Methodists; about 14 congregations of Episcopalians; and some others.

Rhode Island. Baptists most numerous; a few Congregationalists, having 8 ministers; Episcopalians, 4 ministers; and others.

Connecticut. Congregational churches 211, ministers 176: Episcopalian churches 64, ministers 32: Baptist churches 67, ministers 44.

New York. Presbyterians of the several kinds most numerous; Episcopalians next, 42 churches, and 47 clergy; Baptists, Friends, German Lutherans, Moravians, Methodists, &c.

New Jersey. Presbyterians under the General Assembly, 64 churches, and 42 ministers: Presbyterians Dutch Reformed, 33 churches, and 21 ministers: Episcopalians, 24 churches, and 10 ministers: Congregationalists, 9 churches, and 5 ministers: Baptists and Methodists.

Delaware. Presbyterians, 24 churches: Episcopalians, 14: Friends, 8: Baptists, 7: Methodists a considerable number.

Pennsylvania, in 1802. Presbyterians, 86 congregations: German Calvinists, 84: German Lutherans, 84: Friends, 54: Episcopalians 26: Baptists, 15: Romanists, 11: Scotch Presbyterians, 8: Moravians, 8: Free Quakers, 1: Universalists, 1: Covenanters, 1: Methodists, many. The whole number of congregations in the state was then reckoned at 400; now at 600. The parties have probably increased in the above ratio. The Unitarians have now a handsome new church and a very respectable society.

Michigan. Romanists most numerous, and Methodists next.

Maryland, in 1811. Episcopalians 30, and the clergymen 35: Presbyterians probably the most numerous class; many Romanists, Methodists, Baptists, and others.

District of Columbia. Presbyterians and Episcopalians.

Virginia. Presbyterians most numerous; Episcopalians; great numbers of Baptists, Methodists, and Friends.

Kentucky. Baptists most numerous: Presbyterians under the General Assembly, 40 ministers: in the Associate Reformed Church, 10 ministers: Methodists numerous: some Romanists and Episcopalians.

North Carolina. Methodists much the most numerous; Baptists probably next; then Presbyterians and others.

Tennessee. Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, in this order as to numbers.

South Carolina. Methodists, 200 churches, 116 preachers: Baptists, 130 churches, 100 preachers: Presbyterians, 90 churches: Episcopalians, 10 churches, 16 preachers: Congregationalists, 7 churches.

Georgia. Baptists and Methodists much the most numerous; some Presbyterians and others.

Louisiana. Chiefly Romanists.

By this general statement, it will be seen, that sectarian interests already balance each other so far that no one party can hope to merge all the others in itself. The four most zealous candidates for popularity are the Presbyterians under the General Assembly; the Andoverian Calvinists, the Baptists, and the Methodists. Dr. Morse says,\* that the Congregationalists are the most numerous class in the United States, and the Presbyterians next. But the Congregationalists are stated by him to have 1800 congregations, and about the same number of ministers and candidates, and he says, that the Baptists had 1032 churches, and 1291 ministers in 1792. They have much increased since. They are probably now more numerous than the Presbyterians, and about equal if not superior to the Congregationalists. But, whatever may be the exact comparison of forces, the four great sects above mentioned are alone sufficient

\* Amer. Geog. p. 109.

to balance one another, and thus to offer indirectly much encouragement to free inquiry. There is a large population which takes no name among the sects, and a large portion of those, who do take a name, are catholic in their sentiments and influence. In Massachusetts particularly there is a powerful body of decided defenders of rational and catholic Christianity, both among the clergymen and laymen. A union of these, on the Protestant ground, that the Bible is our only rule of faith and practice, in opposition to the peculiarities of all the sectaries, ought to take place, and probably will under the increasing pressure of abuses and corruptions. Whenever such an ecclesiastical body shall be formed on true catholic principles, it must rapidly grow, both in numbers and influence, and secure religious freedom to our country.

#### VI. Religious Periodical Publications, and others.

Most of the Magazines are short-lived, but there is a constant succession of them, and they have a great influence upon public opinion and feeling. The Calvinists among the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians, and the Baptists have heretofore been much the most active in circulating their sentiments, and keeping them constantly before the public eye. Sectarianism is, from its nature, more warm and active than catholicism, until the latter is roused into effort and defence by insult and immediate danger. We are astonished at times, when we think what exertions the Calvinists have made in every form to get proselytes, and how little has been done by catholic Christians, that the Calvinists have not made more converts, and already got the whole country into a state of religious vassalage. But our astonishment ceases, when we consider the irrational, and unscriptural character of Calvinism, and how difficult it must ever be to fasten it upon any community. Other sects, and catholic Christians as a body, are growing much more attentive to the use of Magazines and Tracts, and will not hereafter allow the Calvinists to occupy the public mind so much alone. The causes begin to operate which must give to simple, unadorned Christianity far more consequence than it has ever had in this or in any other country. The defenders of genuine Protestant-

ism ought to publish their sentiments, and the reasons of them, much more than they have done. Let the truth be brought before the public, and they cannot fail to see, embrace, and follow it. Our laymen, and we must after all calculate very much upon their influence in promoting religious truth, are fast discovering that infidelity is the product of religious abuses, and that real Christianity is simple, practicable, reasonable, divine, and full of the most noble principles, affections, and hopes.

As far as we have means of knowing, we are satisfied that the Panoplist has been circulated more extensively, than any cotemporary religious magazine in our country. To effect this, great industry and policy have been united. The idea has been pressed upon the public, that a conspiracy of heretics is formed against religion, which the Panoplist must be supported in order to put down. This work is the adopted child of the Hopkinsian or Andoverian Calvinists, and has been the means of circulating misrepresentations, and exciting much prejudice against catholic Christians, particularly those in the neighbourhood of Boston. We hope soon to see some new evangelical work, in fact as well as in name, supported by a candid, but able and determined association of Christian disciples, rise in defence of the religion of the gospel against the corruptions of sectarianism. Of this we are sure, that the reviving spirit of Protestantism will in some form, and indeed in many forms, call back the public mind from the corruptions of creeds to the word of God.

Next to the Panoplist, the Evangelical Intelligencer, the magazine of the General Assembly, has probably had the greatest circulation.

The Christian's Magazine in New York has been more able than either, but many Presbyterians and Congregationalists have united in their jealousy of Dr. Mason, its original editor, so far that it has had a less extensive circulation than its merit, as a sectarian work, deserves.

The Baptists and Methodists have been and are still active in disseminating their principles by magazines and tracts,

The Episcopalians have also had considerable zeal and success in the use of the same means. They have lately com-

menaced a new quarterly publication, entitled the Theological Repository. The first number, which is the only one that has appeared, is composed principally of selections, and in its theological character resembles the Christian Observer, from which a considerable part of its contents is taken.

Under this head we cannot omit to mention the peculiar popularity and extensive circulation of the publications of the two Worcesters, Noah and Thomas. They have done more toward opening the public mind to the absurdity of Trinitarianism, and its family of errors, than any two men in our country. The "Bible News" particularly has been read by multitudes, who would probably never have read a work against the doctrine of the Trinity, had it not come from a Hopkinsian circle. Although we do not subscribe to their peculiarities of opinion, yet we admire their ability, candor, and catholicism; and we give them our hearty thanks for the good they have done, in rousing the public mind to inquiry.

VII. The correction which abuses commonly carry with them, where free inquiry can be preserved.

We will here state a few facts to show the manner in which abuses produce this effect in a free country, and the promises we may derive from them hereafter.

1. In Connecticut. The Rev. John Sherman, settled in Mansfield, was persecuted, because he honestly declared his conversion from the doctrine of the trinity to the doctrine of the unity of God. His history has reached every part of our country, and has been an encouragement to free inquiry even in England. The persecution he met with alienated many good men from the great religious combination of the state, by bringing out its tyranny to public view. After taking a dismission from his people, he travelled and spread catholic sentiments in many towns, and, as we trust, many hearts.

The wicked and high-handed usurpation of the self-created and *ex post facto* Consociation in Tolland county, in trying, condemning, and deposing the Rev. Abiel Abbot of Coventry, has already made that excellent man the instrument of doing more good to the cause of truth and religion, than he could have done, had he been ever so active, in a long life, confined to the bounds

of his parish. His simple and honest narration has been read by multitudes, and has opened many minds to the danger of sectarian combinations for power, and furnished effectual motives to an active defence of catholic Christianity. His book too has crossed the water, and excited the friends of truth to new diligence.

The persecution and dismissal of the reverend and catholic Dr. James Dana in New Haven from his church, to make way for a disciple of Calvin, disgusted many worthy people in that place; induced some to join the Episcopalians; and has been the ground of repentance in several, who at first were inclined to approve the measure. Dr. Dana did more good to catholicism in his adversity, than he could have done had he spent the remainder of his life in peace with his people.

The Rev. Henry Channing of New London became grieved with the oppressive ecclesiastical combination of the state; took a dismission from his people, and is now an instrument of spreading catholic Christianity more widely, than he could have done in a single parish. His successor, an exclusive, denouncing Calvinist, has offended some of his respectable people, who have joined the Episcopalians.

Throughout Connecticut, disaffection with the great ecclesiastical combination of the state is continually bursting out, and withdrawing families from it; and multiplying the forces of the Episcopalians, Baptists, Methodists, Quakers, and others. Many of the parishes in consequence are already so weak, that they cannot support a settled clergyman, and are divided between the different sects. We do not rejoice in these things. We mention them merely as the natural consequences of the prevalence of an exclusive and sectarian spirit, and as multiplying the checks on sectarian power.

Great numbers of the distinguished laymen are catholic men in their religious sentiments, and are disgusted with the sectarian spirit of many of the clergy. Some of them speak openly; and a great portion of them acted independently in the late contest in the election of governor; one principal object of which was, to prevent the choice of a man, Mr. Treadwell, who was himself a Calvinist, and who was too much disposed to

favor and promote ecclesiastical power. It is not improbable that the clergy may again alienate the bar from them, as they once did formerly. There was a time when they produced a considerable excitement against the late Oliver Ellsworth, because he read and admired the works and sentiments of Dr. Lardner; but it was found good policy afterward to relax in their strictures, and to elect him, notwithstanding he kept his sentiments, trustee of their Missionary Society.

2. In Massachusetts. The attack of Drs. Morse, Spring, and others, upon Harvard University, respecting the election of the Hollis Professor of Theology, has given an activity to catholic Christians, which will long produce valuable consequences. It disgusted many of their former friends; it excited a warmer interest in the university; it tended to give it a far more consistent and efficient character; it procured extensive sympathy and patronage for it; and the institution was never so flourishing as at this moment.

In many, if not in most instances, where a change from a catholic mode of preaching to the exclusive and denouncing spirit of Andoverian Calvinism has taken place, contentions, divisions, and the multiplication of checks, have followed. The Rev. Mr. Burr of Sandwich was dismissed from his people on this account. The long and painful contentions at Dorchester are well known, and have issued in a large secession from the parish of their Calvinistic minister.

The persecutions against the Rev. Mr. Willard, settled in Deerfield, have already produced much good in that part of the country, and promise much more. The distinguished laymen of that county deserve great praise for their catholic and Christian spirit.

The violence and denunciations of Andoverian Calvinism in the metropolis have shown the people the value of catholicism and of their religious liberties; have taught them the deformity of sectarianism; have enlarged and emancipated many minds from the prejudices which were growing upon them; and have given full proof that the project, to revolutionize the town from genuine protestantism to the sentiments and dominion of Andover, must not only fail now, but can never be successful.



3. In New Hampshire. The persecutions against the true Woreesters have multiplied their valuable publications; have distributed them into every part of New England; have brought into public view the religious tyranny—both in their great and small ecclesiastical combinations, their general and subordinate associations; have opened the eyes of many; and are now producing an abundant harvest of catholicism.

Many parishes in the state have been convulsed by the abuses of Calvinism, and great secessions from the ministers have taken place.

4. In New York. The controversy between the Episcopians and Presbyterians has not only made many catholic, in regard to the whole subject, but it has given to Dr. Mason, with another class, an influence and a party in the capital, which, with his new church, will be of great consequence as a check upon the General Assembly. The exclusive and denouncing spirit of Dr. Mason will at the same time lead others to assert their rights, and more ably to defend catholicism. There ought to be, and there must be, a church established in that place for the defence of the Protestant rule of faith, and to diffuse the knowledge and the spirit of simple Christianity more widely among the people. We have good reasons to believe that there are many laymen in the city, who have become heartily tired of sectarian contentions, and who would earnestly assist in raising a congregation to hear the Gospel, without either the thirty-nine articles, the Westminster Confession of Faith, that of the Synod of Dort, the decrees of the Council of Trent, or any other human creed whatever. The sooner this subject is brought before their minds the better, and the sooner will their present abuses show the people its value. The divisions between the Presbyterian and Andoverian Calvinists in the city go to the same effect.

5. The abuses within the jurisdiction of the General Assembly.

The only fact we wish to state in this division is, that somewhere about 1805, after the great revival of religion in the western states, the General Assembly deposed, if we remember right, between forty and fifty preachers for denying the doctrine

of the Trinity, and asserting the unity of God, with its consequent truths. How many they have deposed since, we know not. But such abuses must multiply checks upon themselves.

In Pennsylvania the efforts of Dr. Linn and others, to write down Dr. Priestley, only brought his sentiments more into public view; they became, as we have understood, an article of regret, at least as to the manner, with Dr. Linn himself, before his death; and they have aided to build a handsome Unitarian church in the city of Philadelphia, and to raise a highly respectable Unitarian congregation. Very much for truth is promised by this opening for catholicism in that city.

We will now put a question of some interest, as it respects the future prospects of catholic Christianity, namely—In this republican country, what is the best policy for a layman, wishing the votes of the people, to adopt, in regard to his religious profession?

The answer in New England is very apt to be, that Calvinism is the best aid to an ambitious man. Our answer however is opposed to this. We believe, both from *theory* and *fact*, that catholic Christianity is better adapted to conciliate the affections of the people as a body, than any form of sectarianism. If this be so, it will follow, that catholic Christians are more likely than sectarists to obtain such political situations, as will give them influence and power; and likewise, that there is no reason to fear, that there will be much improper bias upon the minds of ambitious men, to induce them to favor and support any form of sectarianism. Both these circumstances are adapted to encourage the hopes of catholic Christians.

No one sect is sufficiently powerful in any state to outvote all the others. On paper, this may indeed appear otherwise, in some of the states; but what we have stated, we believe to be actually the case. Take Connecticut, for instance, where a given form of sectarianism is most likely to be a cloak for an ambitious man. Here the Congregationalists are two thirds of the people, and all the other religious denominations, one. But all the Congregationalists are not Calvinists. A very large majority of the people are Arminians. Some of their ministers tell them they are born Arminians, and are never Calvinists

till they are regenerated. The number of the regenerated is allowed to be a very small minority. Even in Connecticut, it would be bad policy for an office-seeker, to take pains to show himself before the world, as a zealous sectarian for the predominant religious combination. This would offend all the Episcopalians, Baptists, Methodists, and others. It would also offend very many Congregationalists, who are rational, catholic Christians, and are disgusted with bigotry. A fair trial was made of this in the late contested election of governor, to which we have before referred. Mr. Treadwell was a well known, prominent New England Calvinist; conformed his proclamations to this spirit; and was the favorite candidate of the clergy. His opponent, Mr. Griswold, under the opposition of the Calvinists, was elected governor of the state, by a handsome majority; and this too, contrary to the long usage of re-electing the incumbent till he resigned or died. We know that the democrats voted for him; but they would again do the same between any two similar candidates.

We have here taken that state in the Union where the argument would be most likely to be against us, and where we are not certain that some of the distinguished laymen do not think differently from us. It is however our deliberate opinion, that even in Connecticut, a catholic Christian, where other things are equal, will always succeed in competition with a sectarian. Ellsworth was well known to be in sentiment with Dr. Lardner, and yet lost few or no votes on this account.

If we come to Massachusetts, we shall find the facts much more clearly in our favor. An attempt was indeed once begun by a few leading sectarians in the commonwealth, to defeat Mr. Gore's election, because he had the misfortune to belong to a religious society of catholic Christians in Boston. The attempt, as is well known, was without effect. Our present excellent Chief Magistrate, on that occasion, gave the powerful influence of his name, to destroy in the bud an evil of so malignant a nature in our political concerns. His public testimony to the amiable and Christian character of Mr. Gore, was as honorable to the religion of the former as to that of the latter.

Governor Strong was very sagaciously elected a Visitor of

the Theological Seminary at Andover. But with his characteristic good sense he declined the office. We know not nor are we curious to know, what are his private sentiments in religion. Of one thing we are certain, that his public religious character is, in word and deed, not exclusive, but catholic.

If we look to our judges, our most distinguished counselors and legislators; if we look to the federal elections in the nation, to our most able and efficient men in the general government, and to foreign ministers; we shall not find that any form of sectarianism gave them their offices or the confidence of the people. General Washington was a catholic Christian; Mr. Adams the same. With regard to later times, since democracy began to rule, it is sufficiently to be lamented, that Christianity, in any form, has not been required or expected.

We are glad that the question is not asked about a candidate for office, What sect does he belong to? We hope it never may be. At present, to declare for one sect will offend the others, and be bad policy. Nominally, according to the public reports of parties, Calvinists are the most numerous; but really they are a minority in our country. They are also divided among themselves, and the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Baptists are and must be jealous of and opposed to each other.

It follows then that good men, who are catholic Christians, will, where other things are equal, more probably obtain office, than those who are sectarians; and that ambitious men, without principle, will not probably be disposed, for the sake of popularity, to affect and patronise any form of sectarianism.

We have now two questions to answer, which we shall do with brevity.

*First.*—What are the checks upon the prevalence of Calvinism in New England?

The three great classes of Presbyterian Calvinists unite to oppose the New England Calvinists.—The Baptists are active propagandists; they have a different set of interests from the Congregational Calvinists, and each will be a check upon the other.—The Methodists are Arminians, a very popular sect, and they have a different set of interests and doctrines from the

Calvinist.—A very large minority among Congregational clergymen are Arminians, and the friends of the protestant rule of faith and of free inquiry.—A large and increasing number among the clergy deny the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity, and defend the divine unity and its consequent truths. —An immense majority of the laymen are Anti-Calvinists in a variety of forms. Some are Arminians; some Arians; some Unitarians; and some abhor the exclusive spirit of sectarianism, without entering into an examination of doctrines.—The violence and abuses of Andoverian Calvinism will shock and offend multitudes, and thus check itself.—Magazines and Tracts are multiplying in favor of catholic Christianity. The defenders of it will bring the discussion much more before the people than it ever has been done. The Calvinists have had nearly all the ground to themselves. This will never be so much the fact again.—The irrational and unscriptural character of their system will be shown.—The remote effects of periods of high religious excitement favor free inquiry.—The real interests of the people are opposed to sectarianism. Their peace, prosperity, and happiness depend on the prevalence of rational Christianity and a catholic spirit.—The influence of the example of our best and most distinguished laymen will be opposed to sectarianism.—The general progress of the mind, in the arts and sciences and in the knowledge of human nature, the progress of biblical criticism, and the growing influence of truth are all opposed to the prevalence of Calvinism.

*Secondly.*—What are the hopes of catholic Christianity?

All the checks upon the prevalence of Calvinism are so many encouragements for catholic Christianity. The general enlargement of the mind is so in a particular manner. When it is making improvements in every thing else, it cannot be forever fettered in moral and religious science. When one part of the body grows, all parts grow.—The art of printing may indeed be made the means of supporting error, but where freedom of inquiry exists, it must afford more support to truth. While this art is preserved, the human mind can never again be brought back to that religious slavery, by which it was once disgraced.—The nature of our institutions favors catholici-

cism. We enjoy, in an unrivalled degree, the privilege of free inquiry.—The truth of the catholic cause is its greatest support and encouragement. It must always have this advantage in a public discussion, and this, in the present state of society, is a greater advantage than what arises from the prejudice in favor of long established errors.—The sympathies of our nature may be more powerfully addressed by true religion than by false. Fear indeed may be more operated upon by the latter, but the affections united may be far more powerfully affected by the former.—The jealousies of the sects will make catholic Christians the arbiters between them.—The Andoverians will be driven still further from their rivals, and the learning which they acquire will undoubtedly spoil some of them, after the novelty of their union is over.—It is the policy of laymen to be catholic, and to patronise catholic Christianity.

The checks and balances of religious parties, which we have been explaining in this review, are a source of much consolation to the liberal mind. The parties are too far pledged in their respective schemes of ambition to make any alteration on account of a development, such as we have made. The causes of that rivalry and disunion which we have seen to exist must continue to operate, whether they are known or unknown. Some other considerations also, which we have presented, are, we trust, adapted to afford encouragement to the friends of catholicism, and of what we regard as genuine Christianity. Let them then be excited to diligence and perseverance in defending and supporting their principles. If these principles are indeed the truth of the gospel, and if it be indeed human corruptions, by which they are opposed, and by which they have been formerly overborne; it behoves us not to be slow in their defence or their support through any fear of reproach or personal inconvenience; it behoves us to remember the declaration of our Master:—*Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed—*

## ARTICLE 7.

*Travels in the United States of America, in the years 1806 and 1807, and 1809, 1810, and 1811; including an account of passages betwixt America and Britain, and travels through various parts of Great Britain, Ireland, and Upper Canada. Illustrated by eight maps. By John Melish. Philadelphia, T. & G. Palmer, 1812: 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 936.*

**MR. MELISH** is a traveller and a writer of the same class with Mr. Cuming, of whose tour we gave some account in our fourth number. His book is full of uninteresting and unimportant details, such as abound in that of Mr. Cuming; in literary merit it is on an equality, and the capacity of observation discovered in each is nearly the same. If however we were here to leave the comparison, we should do no small injustice to Mr. Cuming. In two respects he has greatly the advantage of the gentleman, with whom we have now compared him. Mr. Cuming's book contains a considerable quantity of valuable original information; and the extracts, connected with the account of his tour, have direct relation to the subjects of which he wrote, and are not from some of the most common books in our country. He too, which is the other circumstance in his favor, published his travels in a thick and cheaply printed duodecimo, which is sold, we suppose, at about one sixth the price, for which Mr. Melish has given us in two octavos, the same bulk of matter, perhaps, as it respects the number of words, but matter which is of a much inferior quality. Mr. Cuming, among other things, made a detail of one of his breakfasts, which we have quoted. It occupied perhaps not quite a quarter of one of his pages. Mr. Melish gives us the account of a breakfast also, and, with the laudable assistance of his printer, it occupies somewhat more than a page;\* for the names of all the articles therein concerned, beginning with "the table and table-cloth," are, according to the best rules of bookmaking, arranged one beneath the other.

Mr. Melish travelled very hastily through a considerable

\* Vol. ii. pp. 405, 406.

part of the United States, without the opportunities, and, in some respects, without the capacity of collecting much information of considerable value. He seems to have kept a journal in which he put down a great deal, that no person, duly sensible of the value of time, would have thought worth writing down if it were merely for his own private use. This journal he appears to have faithfully transcribed for the public. In his travels he has recorded, among other things, the distances of one place from another; the state of the roads, whether good or bad, and of the weather, whether fair or foul; the appearance of the face of the country, as seen from the carriage in which he rode; the fare and lodging at the inns, with their various conveniences and inconveniences; the remarkable incidents that he met with, which were, most of them, very much of the same character with those that every man, who travels in a stage coach, has to encounter; his own jocular sayings and serious remarks, and the humours and conversation of his fellow-travellers, neither of which are always the most entertaining; and in addition to all these, that, on which, we suppose, he principally relied to give value to his book, viz. the information that he gathered, *en passant*, from stage-drivers, and inn-keepers, and post-masters. With respect to his methods of collecting information he tells us—

"I took my place on the fore-seat beside the driver. It surprised me to observe how well informed this class of people are in America. In my journey through the New England states, I was highly gratified by the prompt and accurate answers which they made to my questions; and I resolved to follow the same plan of obtaining information throughout my tour." vol. i. p. 139.

Again,

"On our arrival at this place, I was proceeding to follow up my inquiries; and judging that the landlord would be equally communicative and obliging with those I had before met with in the United States, I began to put some questions to him. But I soon found that I had reckoned without my host. To the first question he made a repulsive answer; and at the second, he turned upon his heel, muttering something to himself, that I did not distinctly hear. 'O, ho,' thinks I-to-myself, 'I have got into the wrong box;' so I very composedly shut up my papers, and stepped over [for information] to the postmaster, at the other side of the street." vol. ii. pp. 42, 43.



All these details and all this information however were not enough to make a sufficiently sizeable book. Mr. Melish therefore determined, as he expresses it, to embody in his work a complete geography of the United States.

"This," he says, "is the first attempt that has come under my observation to incorporate a geographical description of a country in a journal of travels, and I hope it will not be without its use to the public. That it might be as complete as possible, I have noticed even those states and territories that I did not travel through, selecting those parts of the narrative for their introduction that I thought would be most appropriate." Preface, pp. ix, x.

This is a meagre and worthless compilation, taken principally from Morse's Gazetteer and Geography; and from other common publications. The article on Rhode Island is the first, and is spread over four pages. Those on New Hampshire and Vermont, which Mr. Melish did not visit, are made to fill nine pages. That on Massachusetts Proper nearly five, and that on the District of Maine, which likewise was not visited, almost one. In this manner we are furnished with a complete geography of four states, including the District of Maine, which, with the best skill of the printer, is expanded over nineteen pages. Mr. Melish however is sometimes more full; for in the article on Virginia, he quotes sixteen pages from Jefferson's Notes, assigning as one reason, that they are *well known*.

"As Mr. Jefferson's Notes are *well known*, and may be considered as containing authentic information," &c. vol. i. p. 247.

From other common books Mr. Melish quotes in the same spirit. Upon a hint, which his work afforded, he has given about eight pages, from the life of Burns, by Dr. Currie, containing remarks on the Scottish peasantry. He has given us likewise an essay of Tom. Paine's on the yellow fever, and one or two political essays of his own, which, if they were at all worth reading, would to be sure not be entirely out of place. Intermixed with his travels in America, are accounts of his voyages across the Atlantic, and of some hasty travelling on business in Scotland, England, and Ireland; which accounts not only have no connexion with the other parts of his book,

but are, with one exception we are about to notice, without interest or value.

Of those few parts, which contain information or amusement, we will now quote some specimens; and the first is that to which we have just alluded.

Mr. Melish gives rather an interesting account of his native parish of Methven in Scotland; it affords some knowledge respecting the state of society in that country.—The whole parish is owned by two proprietors, thence called *heritors*. The whole land being entailed, the farmers occupy their farms on rent from the proprietors, generally having leases of nineteen years.

"The legal provision for the minister of the parish consists of a house, called the *manse*; about 30 acres of land called the *glebe*; and the remainder is paid by the heritors, who generally indemnify themselves by assessing it on the farmers, to whom they let the land. The whole of the minister's income, in this parish, is about £300. The average in Scotland, generally, may be reckoned about £200. In every parish there is what is called a *patron*, who has the gift of *presentation*; that is, when a vacancy takes place, he provides a candidate of his choice, and *presents him to the people*. If they vote for him, he is thenceforth minister of the parish; if they are dissatisfied, he is settled as minister of the parish, *whether they will or not*. In consequence of this law, a great schism took place in the church, and in almost every populous parish there is a *seceder* meeting. In this parish nearly two thirds of the people are *seceders*.

"The school-master is appointed by the heritors, and the legal provision in this parish is a house, school-house, and a garden. A small income arises from the office of session clerk; and, I believe, there are some little perquisites besides. The remainder of the income arises from the quarterly payments of such as go to school. It is now one shilling and six-pence per quarter, but in my young days it was only one shilling. The *seceders* have sometimes a school-master, and sometimes not." \* \* \* \*

"I cannot better explain the order of the school and church, and their connexion one with another, than by giving a short sketch of the plan followed in my early life, which will also explain the *moral economy* of the parish.

"When I was five years of age, we lived a little more than half a mile from the village; and I was sent to school along with an elder brother. The first book used in the school was the *Shorter Catechism*, which cost one half-penny. The next in order was the *Proverbs*, price one penny; the third was the *New Testament*, price

seven-pence or eight-pence. I went through the first two books, of course, and at seven years of age was in the New Testament, at which time we removed to the village. The next gradation was the *Bible*, accompanied by writing, and from thence to Latin and arithmetic; the writing being continued. The hour of attendance in the morning was 9 o'clock in summer, and 10 o'clock in winter, and the school was opened by a short prayer. We had an interval from 1 to 2, and were dismissed at 6 o'clock in summer, and in winter a little before dark; when we had again a short prayer. The Saturdays were devoted to repeat questions in the catechism; and on Sunday, besides attendance at church, which was strictly enjoined, we had to get a psalm by heart, which we repeated in the school on Monday morning. Those farther advanced in education, got by heart the *proofs* to the Shorter Catechism; and sometimes we were appointed to repeat them in church, after the morning service.

"The people assembled at church at 10 o'clock in the morning, when the exercise began by singing from 8 to 12 lines of the Scots psalms. The school-master was precentor, and all the people joined, often forming a most melodious concert. After singing, the minister prayed, and then read a portion of the scriptures, on which he gave a lecture, which generally lasted about 40 minutes. When it was finished he gave out another psalm to be sung, and this was called the *mid-psalm*. The minister then prayed, gave a sermon and a prayer after it. He then gave out another psalm, and, with a benediction, dismissed the congregation." \* \* \*

"In summer there was an interval of about an hour, when the congregation again met, and the afternoon exercise was conducted in the same way, with the exception of the lecture and *mid-psalm*.

"The worship in the seceder church was performed exactly in the same way, but was longer continued; and they had an interval both in summer and winter.

"The religious tenets of the parish were Calvinistic, in which the established church were pretty liberal; but the seceders were very rigid and austere. No part of the discipline however had any tendency to clash with the established habits of the people, except that which prohibited *promiscuous dancing*; that is, men and women dancing together. We had—for my mother was a seceder, and I was one of course—we had frequent addresses from the pulpit on the profanity of this exercise." vol. i. pp. 324—327.

These addresses however, and the exhortations of "the old *douce* elders and 'unco guid' of the congregation," Mr. Melish informs us produced very little effect; for that dancing was a most favorite amusement.

We return to America. Mr. Melish gives us some account of that barren, swampy, unhealthy part of the southern states, which

lies between the sea shore and the hilly country: the latter commencing from about eighty to one hundred and twenty miles from the sea. Mr. Melish was travelling southward. On the tenth of October he left Raleigh in North Carolina. "The country," he says, "was one continued dull scene of sand and pine barrens." The next day—

"The country became more and more dismal, and was very thinly inhabited. The day was rainy, damp, and disagreeable; the creeks swelled beyond their natural limits, which made crossing very difficult; and the people looked pale and sickly." . . . . "At one creek we found the bridge so shattered, that we had to unloose the horses and drag over the stage." vol. i. pp. 256, 257.

The day following—

"The country became still more dismal, and the creeks were more swelled; so that we prosecuted our journey with great difficulty, and at length we met with an accident which proved fatal to one of the horses." vol. i. p. 257.

This accident was occasioned by a bridge out of repair.

"A few miles beyond this we reached the stage, where we dined. Our dinner, as at Lumberton, was *black bacon*; our drink, *new peach brandy*. But our troubles were only beginning. A mile from where we dined we had to cross Ashpole swamp, about one third of a mile in breadth; and here I met with something new. We swam across in the stage, and it was with difficulty that I preserved the mail from a complete soaking. When I observed the fore-horses plunge, I called out to the driver whether we must swim. 'O yes,' says he, 'swim away through thick and thin.' I requested that he would remove the mail to a higher seat. He was not for losing time. I insisted I might be allowed to remove my trunk; and this being granted, I prevailed on him to assist me in moving the mail also; which being done, he dashed right through the creek." vol. i. p. 258.

Soon after he passed the boundary line into South Carolina. But he says—

"Although we had passed into a different state, we had neither a more beautiful country, nor a better road. The one was flat, swampy, and dismal; the other was bad in the extreme." vol. i. p. 264.

The next day—

"On getting up this morning, at day-light, I found the driver, a young lad of about 18, was not inclined to go on with the stage,

and Mr. Ford, the postmaster, seemed very indifferent whether he went or not. The driver alleged that there was a bridge broken on a creek about 18 miles distant, which he could not possibly get across, and it was of no use to try. I asked when it would be passable. He replied drily, 'Perhaps in a month.' 'And are we to wait here a month?' 'I suppose so,' said he, with great *sang froid*. I appealed to the postmaster, but he appeared willing to leave it to the driver's discretion." \* \* \* \* \*

"Having got this matter adjusted, we travelled 15 miles to Beedy creek, the soil sandy, the woods pine, and many swamps by the way. The banks of this creek were overflowed to the breadth of a quarter of a mile on each side. About a mile beyond this, the driver took a passage through the woods, the assistant driver acting as pioneer, and after travelling in this way nearly 3 miles, we came to the creek, concerning which we had the altercation in the morning. It was not broad, but very deep, and choaked up with roots and brushwood. I did not like its appearance; but there was no alternative; we must either go through or return. Having secured the mail from the water, and taking some precautions in case of being upset, we plunged in, swam right across, reached the opposite bank in safety; and travelling about a mile more, through trackless woods, we regained the road, very much to my satisfaction." \* \* \* \* \*

"We were hardly ever out of swamps and creeks. Six miles from our *swimming* creek, we reached Maple swamp; and here the bridge was also broken, and we had to get across in a flat, which detained us a considerable time." \* \* \* \* \*

"We stopped here for breakfast, but the family were all sick with fever and ague, in consequence of which we were long detained. It was, however, at last produced, and consisted of unsightly coffee, brown bread, some bacon and butter, which looked like 'train oil thickened with salt.' I had just put the cup to my lips, when I heard a violent retching in the adjoining room. . . . I could not bear it, and urged to be gone; but the drivers seemed to be accustomed to these sort of scenes, and ate their coarse fare with all the composure imaginable." pp. 264—267.

During the remainder of his journey to Charleston Mr. Melish continued to travel through a country flat, sandy, full of swamps, and intersected by numerous creeks. The bridges were, for the most part, broken down or out of repair. He was detained for a day at a little place called Willton, which he describes as eminently wretched. Here however he was hospitably received at the inn, kept by an Irishman; but found him and the doctor of the place afflicted with the ague. On the

sixth day after his leaving Raleigh he set out in the morning from Georgetown. Thirty miles from this place, he says—

"we stopped for dinner, where we had a view of the Atlantic ocean; and this was several times repeated in our journey onward. There was no other variety, for the country is one continued sand flat, with drifting sand and pine trees." vol. i. p. 272.

On the evening of the same day, he arrived at Charleston.

Of the western country Mr. Melish gives us little new information. He describes the state of Ohio with its neighbourhood, as it has been described by others, fertile, healthy, temperate in its climate, and abounding in the necessities of life. He repeatedly gives the prices of labor and those of the articles of use and subsistence, and frequently mentions the ease with which a livelihood may be earned by labor. At Zanesville he says—

"The price of labor is nearly the same all over the western country, a common laborer has 75 cents per day, brick-makers have 5 dollars per 1000 for bricks, and 2 dollars 50 cents for laying. Stone-cutters and carpenters work at the Philadelphia prices. Other trades have about 1 dollar per day.

"The markets are favorable to tradesmen and laborers. House-rent may be quoted at 36 to 50 dollars per annum; coal  $5\frac{1}{2}$  cents per bushel, delivered; wood 1 dollar per cord, delivered; flour 4 dollars per barrel; meal 33 cents per cwt.; potatoes 25 cents per bushel; turnips  $12\frac{1}{2}$ ; other vegetables plenty and cheap. Beef, mutton, and veal 3 to 4 cents per lb.; pork 2 dollars 50 cents per cwt.; bacon 10 cents per lb.; venison 25 per ham; fowls  $6\frac{1}{2}$  each; ducks  $12\frac{1}{2}$ ; geese  $37\frac{1}{2}$ ; wild turkeys 25; hog's lard 3 per lb.; cheese and butter  $12\frac{1}{2}$ ; whisky and peach-brandy 40 per gallon; cyder 5 dollars per barrel; salt 1 dollar 50 cents per bushel; fish very plenty and cheap. Boarding from 1 dollar 75 cents to 2 dollars 50 cents per week." vol. ii. p. 233.

The prices which he has given for other parts of the western country do not vary materially from the preceding.

We might perhaps, if our limits would allow it, make a few more extracts, particularly from Mr. Melish's account of his travels in the western country. But on the whole, his book contains very little to give it value to any class of readers.

## ARTICLE 8.

*The History of the Jews from the destruction of Jerusalem to the nineteenth century. By Hannah Adams. Boston, John Eliot, jun. 2 vols. 12mo.*

MISS ADAMS has for many years been known by the public as the author of that highly valuable work, entitled *A view of Religions*, and of *A summary history of New England*, compiled with great fidelity and judgment. Her abridgement of this last work, we are told, has been introduced into many of our schools; and we hope it will be introduced into many more. She has at times experienced some of the *calamities of authors*. Her equitable claims to profit were at one time cut off, not having been duly guarded in consequence of her own want of experience, and not having been duly allowed in consequence of mercenary cupidity; and again she was in danger of being supplanted in a fair and useful undertaking by a sort of literary craft alike ungenerous and dishonorable.

The last work of this useful writer is the one now under review. We were witnesses of the ardor with which she pursued her inquiries concerning the subjects of her history; and we know the promptness with which her literary friends cooperated in her undertaking; so far, at least, as to aid her in discovering and procuring the best authorities for her intended work. As far as our examination enables us to judge, she has overlooked no important authority to which she could gain access, and has cited with great fidelity such as she possessed.

In the introduction to this history, where a sketch is given of the state of the Jews from the time of their restoration to their native country by Cyrus, to the birth of Christ, the principal vouchers are the apocryphal books of Maccabees, Josephus, and Prideaux. After the destruction of Jerusalem, concerning which event Josephus furnishes the facts, Basnage becomes the principal authority. The history of the Jews by Basnage, a work of great erudition and critical skill, was intended as a continuation of Josephus, and is brought down to the time of its publication—about the commencement of the

eighteenth century. During no period however does Miss Adams confine her attention to this individual historian; and after the middle ages in particular, her researches are extensive, and embrace many highly interesting accounts of the Jews in the different quarters of the globe, from various histories, itineraries, and treatises of established reputation. The "compiler" thus acknowledges her obligations to the writings of Mr. Gregoire, formerly bishop of Blois, now senator, member of the National Institute, &c.—"His excellent 'essay on the reformation of the Jews' has afforded much important information respecting this extraordinary people. His late valuable work, entitled '*Histoire des Sectes Religieuses*,' published at Paris, 1810, besides interesting and entertaining accounts of the various denominations of Christians, contains several curious articles respecting the Jews. The works of David Levi," she adds, "have furnished materials for what is said of the religious tenets and ceremonies of his brethren." Some additional aid might have been derived in this department of the history from the *Porta Mosis* of Pocock, translated from the original Arabic of the *موسى* of the learned *Moses Maimonides*, and accompanied with the text of the original. It is probably the best and clearest account of the history and nature of the Talmud, and of the Jewish faith and discipline: and among the notes of Pocock, which are appended, there is an ample account of the several opinions of the Jews, concerning the resurrection of the dead. In regard to the Masora more authorities might have been found; we would mention particularly *Buxtorf's Tiberias*. We have reason, on the whole however, highly to commend our author for her extensive range in the examination and comparison of authorities, and the accuracy of the facts for which they are cited.

Some of the prominent objects of the history are, as they should be, to trace the Jews, after the destruction of their city, to the various countries where they were dispersed; to describe their external condition, embracing their persecutions, their conduct under oppression, and their perseverance in their own national peculiarities; to exhibit their distinguishing rites, and ceremonies, and tenets; to give a general view of their learning,



and particularly to shew in the characters of a few distinguished men the greatest advances which they have made in learned pursuits. It is no part of our design to follow our author in the history of the political condition of the Jews; of their rebellions under the Roman jurisdiction; of the victims to cruel despots, who either gave them up to indiscriminate slaughter, or made them the objects of mercenary traffic; of their expulsion from different countries, and their miserable condition in all. Through this whole series of suffering however we cannot but remark one singular fact:—their prompt though temporary credulity in regard to every presumptuous impostor, claiming to be the real Messiah, while they, like their fathers, were so incredulous to the pretensions of the true *anointed*.

The rites, and ceremonies, and tenets of the Jews in different countries are found to have varied, sometimes to a degree producing mutual hostility; and, in some instances, these have been so much impaired by the subserviency of this injured people to its masters, whose vengeance must be appeased by the sacrifice of the customs of their alien subjects, that the vestiges of those customs can scarcely be traced. It was not necessary to our author's design, considering her history as intended for a popular work, to extend her account of the Jewish rites and ceremonies to any great length: but it would have been well to have given, in as short a compass as possible, a chapter, showing the agreement and the diversities in those respects among the Jews of different countries. We would not indeed have been so cruel as to have referred her to all the Rabbinical absurdities and learned trifles of their profound doctors: let these be the peculiar delight of a few solitary Christian-Rabbins.

The tenets of the Jews are comprised in a small compass. Maimonides has made out thirteen articles of faith. He, with his brethren, believes that the law is immutable, and that the Messiah has not yet come. But the great and fundamental article is, that the Jehovah of the Hebrews is the only true God; and here, at the very outset, the Christian, who ascribes real divinity to his Messiah, shocks the Jew, and renders the prospect of his conversion altogether hopeless. The attempt to prove the doctrine of a *trinity*, either from the He-

brew scriptures, or the cabalistic writings of the Jews, we could wish, from our charitable regard to the reputation of our Christian brethren, were wholly relinquished. "The means, which the Jewish church had to know the Messiah," says Basnage, with great reluctance, "had been more effectual, if the divinity of the Messiah had been a constant tenet among the Jews, as some learned men have attempted to prove. But notwithstanding it is our interest to be of their opinion, which besides strongly concludes against the *anti-trinitarians*, yet we could not be induced to father upon the Jews a tenet, which they never received, and thereby make their incredulity, which is but too deplorable, more criminal than really it is."\* The doctrine of the trinity, so revoking to a people, who believe with perfect faith, that God is *one*, is undoubtedly a great obstacle to the conversion of the Jews to Christianity. Many of them are weary of the burden of the ceremonial law, and have either become incredulous on the subject of revelation; or disposed to come over in part to the Christian faith. In 1798 it seems that a large number of Jews in Berlin declared, that they were "ready and willing to become Christians, as far as relates to the moral doctrines of Christianity, provided they shall not be obliged to believe the miraculous part of the Christian creed, and above all the divinity of Jesus Christ." This reservation of miracles may be accounted for, by supposing that they derived from Christians generally the idea of miracles as resulting from an immediate and independent power of Christ—as God.

Of the learned productions of the Jews, Miss Adams has given short accounts, interspersed in chronological order, in the former part of the history; and has dwelt as much upon the Talmuds, the Masora, the Cabala, &c. as a popular history of this kind requires. In travelling through the long period which it embraces, we are struck with the dearth of literature, and the paucity of literary men. But we are not surprised on this account, when we consider how hard it must be to bear up under the incumbent pressure of contempt and tyranny. During the twelfth century some distinguished men appeared, among whom

\* Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, translated by Taylor, 4th 1768. Plan of the history, page 7.

were Maimonides and the Kimchis. Maimonides was born at Cordova in Spain in the year 1131. His learning was displayed in exhibiting the wisdom of the Mosaic dispensation, and in explaining many passages of the Hebrew scriptures. But he was thought to pay too little reverence to the Talmud. He was master of several eastern languages, was well versed in the language and philosophy of Greece, and was celebrated for his medical science. David Kimchi, in his grammar and dictionary of the Hebrew language, excelled all who went before him, and is often quoted by the learned Buxtorf. "Moses Kimchi, his brother, was also distinguished for his learning, and has written a treatise, styled the garden of delight, (*haysan*) the manuscript of which was preserved in the Vatican library." This treatise was afterwards printed at Amsterdam in the original Rabbinical language, in which it was written. We have seen a copy; and among other things it contains several specimens of Hebrew verse in rhyme. Without tracing any further the literary character of the Jews, we shall content ourselves with the following extract from the history before us, of that famous modern Jew, Moses Mendelssohn:—

"This illustrious philosopher was born at Dessau, a city of Anhalt in Upper Saxony, in 1729. He received the rudiments of his education from his father, who was a Jewish school-master. In these schools, which were formed merely for the children of the Hebrews, the summit of their education terminated with an introduction to the Talmud, and the student wasted the season of youth in studying this vast collection of fabulous legends and superstitions.

"Mendelssohn, who possessed a vigorous and original genius united with an ardent desire to acquire knowledge, soon selected from the mass of rabbinical writings the superior works of Maimonides. But such was his intense application, and the inevitability of his frame, that, at the early age of ten years, he was attacked with a nervous disorder of a very peculiar nature. In addition to this misfortune, he suffered all the embarrassments of poverty, being obliged to travel on foot to Berlin to find employment for subsistence. He lived in the city several years, indigent, unknown, and often destitute of the necessities of life. This homeless wanderer was, at length, invited by a rabbi to transcribe his manuscripts; and this man initiated him into the mysteries of the theology, the jurisprudence, and the scholastic philosophy of the Jews.

"A Polish Jew, named Israel Meir, who was distinguished for

the freedom of his inquiries and his love of philosophy, taught him Euclid's elements from the Hebrew version. After the premature death of his beloved friend, Dr. Kisch, a Jewish physician, supplied him with books, and devoted some part of his time to the instruction of a student, whose strength of intellect he had the discernment to perceive, and the affection to aid. Under the instruction of this valuable friend he was soon enabled to read Locke in a Latin version.

"In 1748 Mendolsohn formed an acquaintance with Dr. Samuel Gumpertz, another learned Jew, who, to his professional studies, added a knowledge of the mathematics, and was well acquainted with the modern languages. He introduced him to a literary circle, and this intercourse enlarged his mind. He now applied himself to the living languages, chiefly to the English, that he might read his favorite Locke in his own idiom. His literary friends soon became numerous, among whom was the celebrated Lessing, who encouraged and assisted him in his studious labors.

"In 1751 he published some philosophical dialogues; a translation of Rousseau's essay on the inequality of man; and a dissertation on the sensation of the beautiful. The German language was then in a neglected and unpolished state, and the clearness, precision, and dignity of the style of the Hebrew philosopher was exhibited to great advantage. He next associated himself with Lessing, Ramler, and Nicolai, in writing a journal, composed in the form of letters, on German literature; and this work obtained great celebrity. In 1767 he published his "Phaedon, or discourse on the immortality of the soul." This work was considered as a most curious disquisition on a subject so abstract and sublime, and diffused the fame of Mendolsohn through literary Germany. He was styled "the Jewish Socrates" for the strength of his reasoning, and "the Jewish Plato" for the amenity of his diction. This work has been translated and published in French and English. In 1794 [1774?] he gained the prize from the Berlin academy for his essay on the evidence of the metaphysical science.

"After these publications, amidst the daily occupations of commerce, he still retired to his studies, and composed elementary books for the children of his neglected nation. To raise the degraded character of his brethren was the favorite object he always had in view. One of his publications, styled 'the ritual of the Jews,' was formed under the direction of the chief rabbi, Hirsch Levin.

"The tranquillity of Mendolsohn's life was at length disturbed by his publishing a work, entitled 'Jerusalem,' in which he pretends, that the Jews have a law, and not a revealed religion; that dogmas can never be revealed; and that the only doctrine of his nation is the religion of nature. His advancing these opinions gave rise to a controversy which agitated his feeble and sensitive frame to such a degree, that it is supposed to have occasioned his death.

Zimmerman, who was personally acquainted with him, informs us, 'that his nervous system was deranged in an almost inconceivable manner.' His whole character was a too subtle composition of genius and sensibility, and his whole life a malady. He died of an apoplexy, 1785, aged fifty-three years.\* It has been said of Mendolsohn, that 'he instructed his fellow-citizens as a father, and his rivals he cherished as a brother.' His soft, modest, and obliging disposition procured him the esteem of the superstitious and incredulous, and at his death he received from his nation the honors which are usually paid to the first rabbis.

"Beside the works above mentioned, he published letters to Lavater, a version of the Pentateuch in German for his countrymen, general Principles of the Belles lettres and fine arts, and several other ingenious productions." vol. ii. pp. 132—137.

We have no complaints to make in regard to the arrangement of the work under review; and the style is plain, perspicuous, and free from all affectation. Of reflections upon the subjects of the history, there are few; and as Miss Adams claims no higher rank among authors, than that of a *compiler*, whatever she has done in this way is gratuitous. In commencing and closing her labors however, she offers such remarks, as would occur to a thinking, well-informed, and pious Christian.

We think the public much indebted to Miss Adams for her faithful and judicious labors, as well in this, as in her preceding works. When we consider that the former part of this history is drawn chiefly from a folio of seven hundred and fifty closely printed pages, and a book rarely to be found among us, and that the latter part is collected from various works, in order to form a continuous whole—and that all this is done with great judgment and accuracy, we are persuaded that she has furnished a popular book, which was much wanted. We cheerfully recommend it therefore to all the reading part of the community; and are willing to promise, even the well informed, much entertainment, especially in the latter half of the history, in which much is comprised in a small compass, that we should not readily know where else to find, without the author's continual references.

\* This should be fifty-six: *Rev.*

## INTELLIGENCE.

## PROPOSED HEBREW BIBLE.

[THE editor has been favored with the following notice of the edition of the Hebrew Bible proposed at New York. Some account of this may be seen in the last number of the Repository, p. 230.]

**Messrs. WHITING & WATSON** of New York have issued proposals for a critical edition of the Hebrew Bible, with the vowel points and accents, in stereotype, under the inspection and revision of Dr. Mason and Prof. Matthews. Every friend of sacred literature must consider the publication of a Hebrew Bible as a most desirable event. Copies of it of any edition are so rare, and of the best editions so rare and expensive, that all the motives of convenience and economy unite with those of national partiality and sacred utility in urging us to wish success to the undertaking of an American Hebrew Bible.

As the proposed edition is offered to the attention and patronage of the public, we would present to the notice of its editors and patrons those remarks on the nature of the undertaking, which suggest themselves to our minds. They regard the text, the vowel points and accents, the various readings, and the mode of the impression.

1. The text of Van der Hooght, as it appears in his edition of 1705, is proposed by the editors as the basis; but it ought to be Frey's impression (if trial should confirm its character) of Van der H's. text, which is now publishing in numbers, three of which, at the last accounts, had appeared. It ought to be Frey's impression, because he has discovered several errors in Van der H's. original edition, which certainly, being thus discovered, ought not to be copied into a permanent edition of Van der H's. text.

2. In regard to the vowel points, without entering upon the controversy, which they have excited (which is now however considered by the best critics as having resulted in establishing the originality of some but not all of the masoretic vowels,\* or

\* Eichhorn's *Einleitung ins Alte Test.* vol. i. p. 156. Michaelis *Orient. und Exeget. Bibliothek.* Th. ix. p. 82, in a review of Dupuy's dissertation, in the history of the academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.

vowels similar to them,) we shall only say, that, in our opinion, formed from several years experience, they are of no inconsiderable value and importance. But if we may trust the accounts we have of the labors of other editors—or indeed the obvious extent of the undertaking, it is too much to expect of the gentlemen, engaged to “inspect and revise” this edition, any approach to perfection in this particular. Of the edition of Van der Hooght we are told, that the proof sheets were thrice corrected by a Jew, before they were sent to Van der Hooght;—who then corrected them by a threefold comparison with the edition of Robert Stephens, 1539—59, Bomberg’s Veneta major, and J. Athias’ of 1667, “*ut certo certius exploratum mihi esset nec Typothetam nec Correctorem Judæum quicquam, me invito, omississe aut immutasse.*”<sup>\*</sup> Meisner, after saying, that he doubts whether there are many, who are armed with such an *iron* patience, and disposed to such an expense of time and strength, as are required for a work of this kind, adds, with respect to the correction of the press, and the selection of readings which will be a part of the labor of the present edition: “For one can hardly conceive how tedious, oppressive, and fatiguing this labor is, who has not himself been employed in the correction of some of the sheets; and thus learnt how long one must be detained upon trifles, how many books must be consulted over and over again, how much caution and circumspection must be used in selecting the most important various readings, from such a medley and mass of them as strikes even the eye in Kennicott’s work, how much attention and discrimination must be exercised to answer your own and public expectation. Two sound eyes, with a firm constitution; and a thorough, nay perfect, knowledge of the Hebrew language, will hardly be sufficient to secure a work from errata, which is exposed to them in such various ways.”<sup>†</sup> Therefore it is not with the least intention to undervalue the Hebrew knowledge of the gentlemen, who propose to inspect and revise this edition, that we suggest that they have formed an inadequate idea of the difficulties of their undertaking, in superintending an impression of the Hebrew Bible, with the Masoretic points and accents.

<sup>\*</sup> Van der Hooght: Prefatio, § 4.

<sup>†</sup> Meisner: Prefatio vi.

There are probably very few Christians of our country, who have paid much attention to the accents, farther than they serve to denote the pauses in discourse: in which character they answer in some measure to our English punctuation. About one fourth of them are so used. As to the accents therefore, which are nearly thirty in number, we may suppose that the editors would be obliged to do almost every thing by ocular inspection and comparison. The utmost aid, which they could derive from each other, would be from the constant annunciation by one of them of the name of the accent, placed over, or under, or between the several letters, from word to word, while the other is looking in his proof sheet for the accent of that name. The difficulty is increased by the barbarism and length of the names, and it will be no small addition to the toil of pronouncing first the consonants, and then the numerous attendant vowels, to articulate upon almost every word some such name as Sægolta, Gereschajim, Schalschæleth, Merca-Kephula, and Jareach Ben Jomo. Though the accents, with the exception of those above distinguished, are of no use out of the synagogue, and of undecided use in it, yet it would be mortifying, after having undertaken to give them entire, to fall into those numerous errors, which cannot be avoided without a prodigious expense of time, a constant and severe vigilance, and a perfect knowledge of the tongue.

But to return to the vowel points, we will state some reasons for thinking accuracy unattainable by the arrangements for the proposed edition. Every vowel point, together with those marks which denote the different powers of the same consonant, is placed over, or under, in, or between the letters. The difference of the sound between some of the vowels is so subtle, that the ear cannot be trusted to distinguish between them: so that the person inspecting the proof sheet, without a thorough grammatical knowledge of the pointing of every word, could derive but little aid from another, who should read the copy ever so correctly. If again the critic is to depend upon his grammatical knowledge of the points, he must have a distinct remembrance of every word in his Bible; should know how far, for the sake of euphony, a long vowel is sometimes



changed into a short one, a short into a long, and one long or short for another; how the vowels are varied, when the word increases, for the change of gender, and number, for regimen and the reception of affixes, on account of the different power of consonants, of accents, of Maccaph, Metheg, &c. &c. Under all these difficulties none but a well educated Jew, or one equally learned in the Hebrew, could give us an edition of the Bible with the Masoretic points and accents, without comparing every word of his proof (with its elements and multifarious marks) with the copy, from which it should be printed. This is doubtless not *impossible*, but who will promise to perform it? We state here only the most obvious difficulties, without going into the minutæ of Masoretic subtleties, from which these difficulties would be greatly increased. As a further confirmation of these remarks, we would submit the following extracts from the Monthly Review on the subject of Mr. Frey's edition of the Hebrew Bible.\*—"Few persons are qualified for the task, and fewer still would submit to the drudgery of presenting the public with a new edition of the Hebrew Bible, with all the Masoretic punctuation.—He informs us that he has availed himself [as did Van der Hooght] of the assistance of Hebrew *compositors*, most of whom knew the language from childhood; and that in correcting the press he has adopted the following method:—A *Jewish boy* reads to him *every letter, point, and accent*, from Solomon Proop's Bible, which is considered to be the most accurate ever published, and by these means several mistakes in Van der Hooght's edition have been corrected: and lastly the sheets are revised by a *perfect Hebraist* (*a converted Jew*), who has been engaged at great expense."—Now if these are honest and correct representations, is it expressing an unfavorable presumption of the knowledge of Dr. Mason and Professor Matthews in the Hebrew to say, that we have neither evidence nor belief that they possess that kind or degree of acquaintance with it, (or, as far as we understand, the leisure to compensate for the want of it, if this *may* be done), which would enable them to redeem the whole amount of their pledge to the public?

\* See also Repository, vol. i. pp. 459, 460, where this edition is noticed. Mr. Frey is himself a converted Jew.

3. With respect to the various readings, we have some objection to the plan, as stated in the proposals, and some exceptions to the censure, which is passed in them on Döderlein and Meisner. To omit all the various readings *from the Hebrew MSS.* which do not affect the sense in a theological view, is perhaps to omit them almost entirely. To omit all but those, which make some important alteration in the sense of considerable passages, is to omit all but very, very few. Indeed the principal real value of the various readings, *from the Hebrew MSS.* is the throwing occasional light on an obscure clause, or difficult expression. Of all the readings that could come under these heads, there are not enough to make it worth while to deform the margin with them, as the notices of them will undoubtedly be found in particular comments on the passages which they illustrate. But if, from the consideration that we want to have the scriptures correct, even in the smallest things, and a laudable curiosity of purifying them, even from harmless errors, we desire a collection of various readings from Hebrew manuscripts, then we see no good objection to that of Döderlein and Meisner, which has the advantage of an unblemished character, a twenty years' use, and, as we till lately thought, approbation. The proposals say, that their reputation is unmerited, and their selection inaccurate and indiscriminate. As the first of these allegations depends on the second, we can only say, that we have not found the selection to be inaccurate, beyond what is unavoidable in such difficult printing,\* and that

\* If we might, in speaking of the accuracy of Döderlein and Meisner, pass from the party accused to the party accusing, we would point out some errors in the prospectus. The prospectus says—"To prevent uncertainty in our faith, and to furnish us with a permanent test of doctrine, God has been pleased to commit his revealed truth, in writing, to languages, which, *having ceased to be spoken, are beyond the reach of vicissitude or corruption.*" The proposition implied here is not, we think, correct—at any rate, it has no application to the subject. Is it true that 'languages, which have ceased to be spoken,' are beyond the reach of corruption? May they not be corrupted by the loss of words, which were current while it was spoken, and by the loss of the proper meaning of words? Languages spoken are exposed to other corruptions, as the addition of words, their change, and the fluctuation of their meaning. All that can be said is, that languages spoken and not spoken are each exposed to corruptions, and neither to the corruptions

we know not how such an abstract, from the mass of Kennicott and De Rossi can be called indiscriminate. We have found

peculiar to the other. The living languages, like living men, have their diseases, the dead have their decay. But be it as it will, how does it apply to the Hebrew text? A book, whether in a language spoken or not, is as safe, in the one case as in the other, from vicissitude or corruption. The language *as spoken* may change and grow corrupt; but the book, the written language, is on record, it is permanent, and does not sympathize with the corruptions of the oral dialect. Our English Bible, written in a spoken language, is as safe from vicissitude or corruption, as the Hebrew Original. Words have become obsolete, but this is no corruption:—when they are all obsolete, the language will have ceased to be spoken; but yet be very intelligible, by the usual aids. There is indeed a danger that a book may become obscure, by the loss of all others in the same tongue, which would explain it by comparison. But this is a danger peculiar to a dead language, and has actually happened, in some measure, to our Hebrew scriptures. Moreover one thing is most certain, that many—it would be safe perhaps to say most—of the corruptions of the Hebrew text have been introduced into it, since the language ceased to be spoken: that is, since the Babylonian captivity.

"Before the art of printing, the scriptures, like other books, could be multiplied only by manuscript copies. Whatever was the care and fidelity of transcribers, it would be fanaticism to imagine they never fell into mistakes."—The mistakes of transcribers (properly so called) are not the only source of various readings. Are they indeed the principal source of the most important various readings? We think not.

"The true text of the scriptures is to be found among the MSS. and to be collected from them." On the contrary, it is the standing regret of critics, that the collation of the Hebrew MSS. has done so little toward the restoration of the text. Is it not, in some places, irrecoverably lost; and is it not, in most important places, where it has been corrupted, to be restored principally—at least partly—by means of the ancient versions? Marsh says—"we still want an edition of the Hebrew Bible, in which the readings of the MSS. are united, as in the critical editions of the Greek Testament, with judicious extracts from ancient versions." Something too has been done by Kennicott and De Rossi, and more may be by others, in collating citations from the Old Testament into the Talmuds, Masora, and other Jewish books. [Vide Marsh's Lecture xi. and Michael. Orient. und Exeg. Biblioth. Th. xi. p. 91. et seq.]

If we were to descend to verbal criticism, which perhaps may be indulged on the performance of those, who propose to exercise it in thousands and thousands of instances, we would say, that '*exactitude*' is a reading, unlicensed by the literary Masorite of Litchfield.

It may be thought of more importance however to point out *seven* errors in the following brief notice in the prospectus:—"Kennicot collated

them, as far as our comparison has reached, to have abstracted the most valuable readings, nor do we think that the purposes

no less than 692 manuscripts of the Hebrew scriptures, in whole or in part, together with 16 of the Samaritan Pentateuch; and De Rossi no less than 589, making together the prodigious amount of 1297 MSS."

1. Kennicott had about 690 sources of various readings; not 692 MSS. of the Hebrew scriptures, as is stated. About 50 of them were printed copies; others were collections of various readings made before his time (as by the younger Buxtorf on the Hebrew, by Morinus on the Samaritan Pentateuch, &c.) the Talmuds, and a few other Jewish writings. We say about 690. Kennicott numbers 694. But we see that 264 and 396 are only different numbers for the same copy, which was, as Kennicott mentions, twice numbered through mistake; and perhaps there may be other errors of the same kind.

2. The copies of the Samaritan Pentateuch are not exclusive of the number 694, as would appear from the statement in the prospectus, but are included in it. All the sources of various readings in the Samaritan text, (of which Kennicott reckons 18,) being numbered somewhere between 61 and 670.

3. The part referred to, in the prospectus, of Kennicott's Dissertation, Diss. Gen. p. 112, and from which these erroneous statements are taken, is not a list, as the reference implies, simply of MSS. of the Hebrew scriptures, nor is it a list of *all* the sources of various readings which were collated; 94 are omitted because they were of little value and seldom cited.

4. That numbered 692 stands at the end of the list, the 693d and 694th being among the omitted ones. Hence arises another error in the prospectus, as it is implied that 692 distinct sources of various readings are mentioned in this list, which in fact contains only 600: 94, as above mentioned, being omitted.

5. The number of manuscripts collated by De Rossi was *not* 589, as is stated, but 751: 589 is the number, which he had collated, when he published his first volume: 751 is given, as the sum of his labors, at the end of the fourth. Since this he has published a supplementary volume, which is noticed by Marsh and Eichhorn, but contains, we believe, only a collation of the Syriac Hexapla: we have not seen it.

6. The number therefore of collated MSS. is *not*, as stated, 1297; but, as given by De Rossi, 1346; of which he counts 16 Samaritan, 134 foreign MSS. not collated by Kennicott, 617 belonging to himself, and 579, the number which he reckons to Kennicott; taking from him 20 which Kennicott had partially consulted and has numbered among his own; but which De Rossi afterward more fully collated.

7. Finally, as Kennicott's printed copies are given in the prospectus as MSS. De Rossi's are omitted altogether. Those collated for his work amounted to 310; 10 of which had before been numbered by Kennicott.

The whole number of copies of the Jewish scriptures in whole or in

of a selection of various readings can be answered by a much smaller one than that of Döderlein and Meisner. A critic,\* of competent powers to estimate their value, has in a passing notice of these selected readings found no fault with them, but that Professor Döderlein was *less copious and liberal*, than Professor Meisner. We are therefore of opinion, that if the readings be not entirely omitted, they would be best taken from Döderlein and Meisner, correcting of course their errors, and where, from *want of discrimination*, they have omitted any valuable reading, carefully taking it from Kennicott and De Rossi. It may appear worth while to collate the Pentateuch brought from India by Dr. Buchanan.

It may be considered a defect of Döderlein and Meisner, that they designate MSS. by the numbers of Kennicott and De Rossi, without giving us a description of those MSS. These numbers therefore are of no service to one, who does not possess or cannot consult the Bible of Kennicott and the collection of De Rossi. For instance, Leviticus ix. 21. we have  $\text{מִן־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ}$  in the text, but Döderlein and Meisner tell us, in the margin, that  $\text{מִן־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ}$  is read in the 109th, 539th, and perhaps in the 346th of Kennicott, and in the 789th, 174th, 543d, and 693d, by the first hand, of De Rossi; and that instead of either, we read  $\text{מִן־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ}$  in the Samaritan, and in the MSS. of Kennicott numbered 84, 107, 129, 136, 150, 152, 181, 206, 218, 248, 342, 368, 369, 437, 438, 439, 459, 464, 466, 482, 488, 517, 564, 567, 581, 593, 597, 610, and also in the 436th, by the first hand. Of all this what is the profit, till we know more of these MSS. than their number on the list? Either the number of MSS. in favor of a reading ought to be simply stated (as in the present case  $\text{מִן־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ}$  2 et f. 3 K. 3. et 1 p. De R.  $\text{מִן־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ}$  S. et 28. et 1 p. K.)

part, which have been collated, De Rossi states to be 1698:—viz. 1346 MSS. and 352 printed copies. [The authorities for the correction of these seven errors are the following:—Ken. T. i. pp. 107, 203, 266, 360, 443. T. ii. Diss. Gen. pp. 70, 109, 115. De Rossi, T. i. proleg. p. xxi.—ii. and iii. xciv. —vi. T. iv. Diss. Prel. p. viii. et Sum. Collat. Cod. Sub. fin. T. iv. Michaelis, Orient. und Exeg. Bib. Th. xi. p. 84. Bauer's Critic. Sac. § prior, p. 400—1. et Proleg. p. 22. Eichhorn, Allgemeine Bib. Band. ix. p. 493. ii. 562.]

\* Eichhorn, Allgem. Bib. Band, viii. 972.

or else such a description of the MSS.—by their general characteristics at least—be given as would make the numbers serviceable. This last is doubtless the most eligible, and the arrangement of Döderlein and Meisner the least.

4. Of the mode of impression by a stereotype plate, it will certainly present the advantages of a more rigorous and continued correction, and of permanency. Whether however it will not raise the expense beyond all hope of the funds; which can be provided to meet it, we cannot say.

The result therefore of our remarks is, that the difficulties, attending the execution of the proposed plan, are very great:—and that the means of meeting them do not seem adequate. If experience teaches any thing, upon this subject, it is the necessity of a faithful and learned Jew, to revise the sheets. It does not indeed appear that the edition of Döderlein and Meisner was thus revised; but its editors were thorough Hebraists, and after all, it seems, “the reputation of their edition is unmerited.” This edition is to be ‘inspected and revised,’ by Dr. Mason and Professor Matthews. Inspection and revision are easily promised and easily performed; but they will not satisfy the requisitions of a Hebrew Bible with points; they will not supply the place of severe and continued scrutiny, and a knowledge of the language all but unerring and unlimited. But though there are insuperable obstacles therefore to a Bible with points, there are none to one without; which we might recommend as a substitute for the former to Dr. Mason and Professor Matthews; while those, who are desirous of a pointed text, can, in the event of peace, procure the edition of Frey, which is reasonable in its price,\* and promises unexceptionable correctness.

\* The price (according to the last statement which we have seen concerning it, and which we presume to be correct) is 4s. 6d. sterling a number for 12 numbers, or royal 8vo, 6s. Three numbers are now published. The Bible at New York is proposed to be in four volumes at \$4 per volume. A few copies are to be at \$6.

## EDITOR'S NOTE.

WITH the present number, the Editor relinquishes the superintendence of the Repository. In reviewing the time during which he has been engaged in this occupation there are various circumstances on which he looks back with pleasure. One of these is the ready friendship, with which his requests for literary assistance have been answered; and others are the exertions for the increase of its patronage, and the good opinion which has been expressed of it, by those whose favorable judgment he should be most desirous of obtaining.

It is not without sufficient trial of what must be the success of a literary and theological work of this kind in our country, that he has relinquished the office of Editor. But the proceeds of the work are barely sufficient, if that indeed be the case, to defray the expenses of publication.

He has however the pleasure of announcing that it will PROBABLY BE CONTINUED by a society of gentlemen, all of whom have heretofore been contributors to the work; and that the numbers will probably be issued without interruption. The work will be conducted on the same plan, as it formerly has been. With the interest, which it is natural for him to feel in its future success, the editor is most willing to entrust it to those, who are about to employ their talents and time in its support.

By the press of other matter, the Foreign Literary Intelligence and the Quarterly List of New Publications have been excluded from the present number. The deficiency may be supplied in the next.

The Editor has on hand various communications which he will transfer to the society by whom the work will be in future conducted. He wishes however particularly to express his obligations to the gentleman, through whose politeness he was favored with a description of the last celebrated picture of Mr. West.

Communications are to be addressed to the Editors of the Repository, Cambridge.

## ERRATA.

For some of the *errata*, which are to be found in the work, the Editor has the excuse of inability to use his eyes, without pain, a great part of his time, and of course to give the proofs so careful a revision as might otherwise have been in his power. The following have been noticed, beside those which have been formerly mentioned:—

Vol. I. p. 385, line 7 from bottom, for "country" read *company*.

Vol. II. p. 273, line 10 from bottom, before "briefly" insert *more*.

383, line 14, for "a being" read *being a*.

Vol. III. p. 195, line 12 from bottom, dele "and motions."

Page 200, 2 last lines for "afford" read *affords*. and for "produce" *produces*.

216, line 18 dele "own."

299, — 8, for "renders" read *render*.

312, — 6 of letter, for "out" read *ought*.

339, — 12, for "Miller" read *Miller*.

343, — 6, for "bold" read *bold*.

— 9 from bottom, dele "in."

363, — 4, for "aid of" read *and for*.

## METEOROLOGY.

THE following table, the result of 22 years' observation, gives the mean state of the barometer and the mean monthly variation, the place of observation being elevated 31 feet above the mean level of the sea. The heights are reduced to the temperature of 55 degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer.

Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
29.993	29.989	29.999	29.982	29.976	29.981	29.999	30.064	30.064	30.050	29.978	29.931
1.224	1.181	1.202	.944	.786	.686	.56.	.567	.693	1.021	1.082	1.151

The greatest height, that has been observed in this place, is 30.94, the greatest annual variation 1.75, the mean height 29.997. The observations were taken at the same time with the thermometrical observations, mentioned in a former number. By taking the means of all, the morning, noon, and evening observations, for the above period, it appears that the barometer has a tendency to stand about one hundredth of an inch higher at 7 o'clock A. M. than at 9 P. M. and about twenty three thousandths higher at this latter hour than at 3 o'clock P. M.

## Continuation of thermometrical table.

	1813, Jan.			Feb.			March		
	7 A.M.	2 P.M.	9 P.M.	7 A.M.	2 P.M.	9 P.M.	7 A.M.	2 P.M.	9 P.M.
Greatest	40	49	52	37	49	59	49	52	52
Mean	16	27.9	30.6	20	35	24	25.3	36.8	27
Least	-12	9	-8	0	14	3	-2	12	1

Snow since the beginning of November 47 inches. Snow dissolved, and rain, since the beginning of the year, 8.44.

## Mean monthly state of the thermometer.

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1790	33.3	29.5	37.2	46.5	58.2	68.3	70.7	70.7	63.7	53.2	40.0	18.8
1791	37.0	20.7	40.3	50.3	61.2	70.7	74.3	73.3	63.0	48.0	41.0	31.3
1792	17.5	26.7	41.0	49.7	61.3	66.5	72.7	61.0	61.2	53.5	43.5	26.5
1793	28.3	30.3	40.3	51.3	49.0	72.2	75.0	75.3	65.3	53.7	41.2	31.0
1794	26.3	26.3	41.0	51.0	61.3	68.0	74.5	73.2	66.7	50.0	42.2	42.3
1795	27	26.1	37.0	47.7	59.5	68.5	72.5	72.4	64.4	53.1	40.5	33.7
1796	28.1	26.7	33.2	47.7	56.2	66.6	72.2	69.8	60.8	47.3	36.2	23.3
1797	21.3	33.3	35.7	45.6	54.2	67.0	73.1	67.7	59.5	47.5	36.0	24.3
1798	27.5	25.0	35.5	46.5	59.2	66.5	71.2	74.7	64.0	50.3	35.7	23.2
1799	25.7	24.3	33.5	44.0	55.2	66.0	72.3	71.3	61.0	43.3	41.0	26.0
1800	46.5	27.2	33.7	50.3	55.7	66.7	73.3	69.7	62.0	51.0	36.3	33.7
1801	26.2	27.3	33.5	45.4	59.9	66.7	74.0	70.2	64.7	51.7	39.6	31.0
1802	33.5	26.6	36.5	46.4	53.7	63.3	72.4	72.7	64.7	54.2	40.3	31.3
1803	26.6	31.9	36.1	46.5	53.3	70.2	73.3	71.3	57.7	50.5	35.3	33.6
1804	21.6	26.0	32.2	42.7	59.5	63.1	74.0	72.7	66.0	47.0	41.0	28.2
1807	24.3	23.6	39.5	43.7	57.3	67.7	74.3	72.7	66.3	47.4	35.7	37.6
1806	24.7	29.7	28.7	41.5	53.3	66.3	69.7	63.7	61.6	49.0	33.2	29.1
1807	20.1	21.9	29.6	43.4	55.1	63.4	76.5	71.3	60.3	50.3	36.6	35.3
1808	23.7	23.7	36.5	46.7	54.4	67.4	72.0	69.5	59.9	46.3	33.9	30.7
1809	18.3	21.7	32.2	46.3	56.4	66.3	67.6	63.0	56.9	56.9	33.6	33.9
1810	24.3	30.7	32.7	47.3	57.4	67.3	69.0	71.2	62.7	52.5	33.4	26.7
1811	25.7	25.4	41.0	45.7	55.7	63.1	70.4	69.9	62.3	54.5	40.6	30.2
1812	13.6	25.3	23.7	44.0	49.7	62.3	69.7	67.7	57.7	43.7	33.3	27.0
24.97	27.01	35.46	46.76	56.66	67.36	72.44	70.66	62.43	50.71	33.75	30.05	



The following table gives the mean of the number of winds for each of the principal points of the compass, together with a corresponding estimate of the proportion of fair and foul weather, deduced from the observations of 20 years.

		Wind.								Weather.				
		N.	N.E.	E.	S.E.	S.	SW.	W.	NW	Fair.	Partly fair.	Cloudy.	Partly cloudy.	
Year.	Jan.	Morn	3	73	57	1	2	5	6	13	9	3	12	7
	Noon	3	1	1	1	2	5	6	13	7	6	10	7	
	Even.	2	1	1	42	2	5	8	11	13	3	11	4	
	Feb.	Morn	3	1	1	1	1	4	5	11	8	4	9	7
	Noon	3	2	1	1	1	5	5	9	8	5	9	6	
	Even.	3	2	1	1	2	4	6	9	11	3	11	3	
	March.	Morn	4	2	2	1	2	5	5	10	10	4	11	6
	Noon	2	3	4	1	3	5	4	9	8	6	9	7	
	Even.	2	3	4	1	3	5	5	8	13	3	10	4	
	April.	Morn	4	3	3	1	2	4	4	8	11	3	10	6
	Noon	2	3	7	2	3	3	3	7	8	5	8	9	
	Even.	1	3	6	2	3	2	5	7	13	4	9	4	
	May.	Morn	3	4	2	2	3	7	3	7	10	3	9	9
	Noon	1	3	9	3	3	4	3	5	6	7	8	10	
	Even.	1	3	7	1	4	5	5	5	11	4	10	6	
	June.	Morn	2	2	3	2	4	7	4	6	6	5	8	9
	Noon	63	2	3	2	2	2	7	3	4	4	10	6	10
	Even.	67	2	7	1	4	4	7	4	4	10	5	7	8
	July.	Morn	3	2	3	1	4	7	6	5	9	6	7	8
	Noon	58	1	10	2	3	6	4	4	4	4	12	4	11
	Even.	42	1	8	1	4	4	7	5	4	11	5	6	8
	Aug.	Morn	2	2	3	1	4	6	6	6	9	5	8	9
	Noon	53	2	9	2	3	6	3	5	5	10	5	11	5
	Even.	70	2	7	70	2	6	6	5	5	13	5	7	6
	Sept.	Morn	4	2	2	2	2	5	5	7	9	6	6	7
	Noon	2	2	7	1	2	5	4	5	5	5	9	6	8
	Even.	2	2	7	90	2	6	5	5	11	6	7	5	5
	Oct.	Morn	3	1	2	84	2	5	8	9	10	5	9	7
	Noon	2	2	4	2	3	5	7	6	8	7	7	7	8
	Even.	3	2	4	1	3	5	7	5	13	4	8	5	5
	Nov.	Morn	4	84	1	1	3	4	7	9	8	5	9	8
	Noon	3.3	1	3	1	3	4.4	5	9.3	7	7	8	8	8
	Even.	2	1	3	9	3	4	7	9	11	4	9	6	6
	Dec.	Morn	3	63	1	1	2	5	7	11	9	4	10	8
	Noon	3	1	1.3	1	2.7	5	6	11	7	7	9	8	8
	Even.	2	1	1.4	1	2.5	5	7	11	11	4	11	5	5
	Year.		39	21	24.6	14.8	31	64	66	101	110	53	108	91
	Noon		23	23	64	21	31	60	53	86	77	91	89	103
	Even.		19.8	23	56	11.9	35	62	70	83	141	50	106	65

Cambridge, April.

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